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THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF GENESIS XIV

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THE fourteenth chapter of Genesis has long been one of the most puzzling, and yet the most fascinating sections of the Old Testament. In it we apparently have the only definite link between biblical and external history in the entire pre-royal period. If we can only identify the names and events mentioned there, we shall be able to fix the beginning of Hebrew historical tradition with an exactness otherwise quite unattainable—if the document is genuine. For several decades now the synchronism between Abram and the eastern kings has been placed by most scholars in the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon, about 2000 B.C., a date sufficiently remote, in any case. Those who maintained this view were found both among conservatives and “critics,” the former holding as a rule that our document had been transmitted through the medium of Babylonian cuneiform for centuries before being put into Hebrew,¹ while the latter were inclined to regard it as a learned compilation of the exilic or post-exilic age.² The former pointed to the extensive use of cuneiform in Palestine, Syria and Asia Minor before and

¹ Cf., e.g., HOMMEL, *Biblische Zeitschrift*, 1920, pp. 213-8.

² See HAUPT, *OLZ* 18, 70 ff.; ASMUSSEN, *ZATW* 34, 36 ff.—Note the following abbreviations: *AJSL* = *American Journal of Semitic Languages*; *Annual* = *Annual of the American School(s) of Oriental Research*; *BuA* = MEISSNER, *Babylonien und Assyrien*; *Bulletin* = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*; *JAOS* = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; *JEA* = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*; *JPOS* = *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*; *JSOR* = *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*; *MVAG* = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*; *OLZ* = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*; *ZA* = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*; *ZATW* = *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*; *ZDMG* = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

during the Amarna Age; the latter called attention to the fact that Gen. XIV cannot be assigned to any of our pentateuchal sources, and may plausibly be considered as later than them. Such drastic divergences of view are only possible when the problems under consideration are either extremely complex or exceedingly obscure. In this case all who have seriously studied the question will doubtless agree respecting its obscurity.

For half a century it has been a commonplace in popular treatises on archaeology and the Bible that Amraphel king of Shinar corresponds to Hammurabi of Babylon, while his allies Chedorlaomer of Elam and Arioch of Ellasar are identical with a hypothetical Kudur-lagamar of Elam and with a supposed Eri-aku of Larsa.³ An extraordinary quantity of acumen has been expended on the collection of philological evidence for these equations. With our rapidly increasing knowledge of the period of Hammurabi, however, their impossibility has become clear to a number of scholars independently. The difficulty of identifying the 'mrpl of Šin'ar with Hammurabi of Babylon becomes still greater when we know that the correct Amorite form of the latter's name was 'Ammurawih.⁴ "Eri-aku" has been split into the two brothers Warad-Šin and Rîm-Šin, the former of whom, whose name was the source of the punning "Eri-aku," died thirty years before Hammurabi's accession. Finally, the total lack of the slightest evidence for a Kudur-lagamar of Elam during the Hammurabi period has made the supposed historical situation increasingly unlikely.

In 1916 Professor BÖHL of Groningen, a gifted Dutch Assyriologist and Old Testament scholar, published a paper entitled "Die Könige von Genesis 14," in which he proposed a wholly new historical background, dated about 1250 B.C.⁵ Following WEBER's lead, he insisted that Šin'ar in Genesis 14 was not Babylonia proper, but further north, probably in the region of Mitanni, while 'mrpl is not to be identified with Hammurabi, but with an unknown ruler named Amur-apil or Amurru-apil(-idinam), &c. Tid'al king of the Gôyîm he identified with Tudhâlia (III) of

³ This view is favored even in KITTEL's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. I⁵⁻, pp. 62 ff., 283 ff. In English literature it is generally taken for granted.

⁴ See LUCKENBILL, JAOS 37, 250-3; the writer, AJSL 38, 149 f., JPOS 1, 70, n. 3.

⁵ ZATW 36, 65-73.

Hadte, the identity of the names having been suggested previously by SAYCE. Kudur-lagamar he thought belonged in the age of Šutruk-naḫḫunte and Kutir(Kudur)-naḫḫunte of Elam. *Aryôk* of Ellasar might correspond to an Indo-Iranian *Aryaka* or a Mitannian *Ari-x*; the land he did not attempt to identify, suggesting that it might be in Mitanni. According to BÖHL the document is one of the oldest in the Pentateuch, written down not later than the time of Solomon, with the purpose of showing that the prince of the Jebusite capital had already acknowledged the suzerainty of Abram centuries before the Davidic conquest. The tithes were then given by Melchizedek to Abram, not the reverse, as hitherto understood.

Four years later the present writer discussed the question in a paper read before the Palestine Oriental Society, and printed in 1921, with the title "A Revision of Early Hebrew Chronology."⁶ This study was prepared in entire ignorance of BÖHL's work, rendered inaccessible by the war; in a note added to the proofs, attention was called to the article of BÖHL, which had been seen in the meantime. The writer dated the episode described in Genesis XIV about 1675 B.C. Šin'ar he also located north of Babylonia, identifying it with the land usually called Ḫana. ³*mrpl* he explained as *Amurru-ippal*, *Immer-apla(-iddin)*, or the like. The name *Tid'al* he identified with Hittite *Dudḫalia*, while the person corresponds, he believed, to the Tudḫula of the Spartoli tablets,⁷ who may have been the chief of the Umman-manda (= Gôyim). Kudur-lagamar he placed immediately after Ḫumbanummena and Untaš-GAL, and identified with *KU-KU-KU-KU-MAL*, the king of Elam in the Spartoli tablets, read Kudur-laḫamal or Kudur-lagamal.⁸ Aryôk of Ellasar he thought might be an *Ari-aku of

⁶ JPOS 1, 49-70, especially pp. 68-77.

⁷ First published by PINCHES, *Journal of the Victoria Institute*, vol. 29, 56 ff. The only recent translation is by JEREMIAS, *MVAG* 21, 69 ff.

⁸ For the reading cf. JPOS 1, 71, n. 4. The writing *KU-KU-KU(KU)-MAL* is a rebus of a type common in this very tablet; the resolution is *Ku-dur-laḫamal* (for *KU-KU* = *laḫamu* cf. DELITZSCH, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 375 = MEISSNER, *Seltene assyrische Ideogramme*, no. 8121). Hebrew *L'mr* stands for *Lgmr*, since Heb. 'ayin represents both 'ayin and gayin, while the 'ain was unknown in non-Semitic tongues like Elamite. The equivalence 'ayin = gh is also found in Šin'ar = Šanḫar, Sngr and Tudḫul = Tid'al. *Lgmr*, however, could only be written *Lhmr* in cuneiform, which did not possess a gh. Even in Elamite texts the name of the divinity *Lagamar* alternates with *Lagamal*, which is the regular form in Babylonian. The writing *Laḫamal* is, therefore, entirely legitimate.

Alsî, a land in northern Mitanni. The fourteenth chapter of Genesis throws light on the age of great migrations during which the Indo-Iranians and other peoples swept over Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt. The document in its present form is, he considered, an archaizing composition of the sixth century B.C., containing important historical material, probably handed down, at least in part, by tradition. This part of the discussion is weak and now seems very unconvincing.

BÖHL's views were accepted in the main by JIRKU, who published two notes on the subject in 1922.⁹ JIRKU made some very good observations bearing on the style and language of Gen. XIV, which he considered as an archaic document of great historical value, translated from a cuneiform original preserved in Jerusalem. He thought that all the eastern kings named were in reality petty princes, and proposed the identification of Tid'al with Tudhalia of Carchemish, a contemporary of Mursilis II (III), in the fourteenth century. The following year he gave a useful resumé of his views in his book *Altorientalischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament*, pp. 56-61, where he also collected the material for Šin'ar-Šanhar (pp. 40-1).

In 1924 BÖHL returned to the subject with a short paper on "Tud'alia I, Zeitgenosse Abrahams, um 1650 B.C."¹⁰ Though still entirely unacquainted with the writer's paper, he now fixed upon almost exactly the same date for Genesis XIV. After a brief summary of the conclusions of his previous paper, he admitted that his earlier date (1250 B.C.) was as much too late as the date required by the usual Hammurabi synchronism was too remote. On the basis of HROZNÝ's discovery of a much older Tudhalia, who preceded Šuppiluliuma, BÖHL proposed a date in the early Cossaeon period, about 1650 B.C. This date, he pointed out, would suit our knowledge of this obscure age, in which the Hyksos were ruling in Egypt, the Babylonians were under Cossaeon domination, Elam was beginning to become an important power, while in Mitanni (= Šin'ar) and in Hatti Aryan influence was strong. BÖHL also suggested that Abraham and his Hebrew tribe had settled in the region of Harran, where his kinfolk long remained, but were oppressed and compelled in part to migrate westward

⁹ ZATW 39, 152-6.

¹⁰ ZATW 42 (= 1, N.F.), 148-53.

by the Ḫarri, who had occupied this region about 1700 B.C. under Aryan leadership.

Meanwhile the writer continued to investigate the question in a number of articles. In a paper on "Palestine in the Earliest Historical Period,"¹¹ which appeared in 1922, he stressed the connection of the movements referred to in Gen. XIV and the barbarian irruptions which brought the Hyksos into Egypt. He was also inclined to date the invasion of Chedorlaomer a little earlier than previously, before the successful invasion of Egypt by the Hyksos instead of shortly afterwards. In 1924 the writer published an article on "Shinar-Šangār and its Monarch Amraphel,"¹² in which he recapitulated the arguments hitherto presented only in a little known journal, and advanced many new ones for the correctness of his main contentions. Since we shall have occasion in the present paper to refer frequently to this discussion, it need not be summarized now.

After our expedition to the southern part of the Dead Sea Valley and our study of the Early Bronze remains at Bâb ed-Drâ',¹³ which represent the only surviving trace of the flourishing culture of this region before the catastrophe which overwhelmed Sodom and Gomorrah according to biblical tradition, it became evident that a date in the seventeenth century B.C. was too late for the archaeological evidence. A thorough study of the pottery showed that characteristic forms of the later Middle Bronze were wholly lacking; the ceramic remains of Bâb ed-Drâ' belong wholly to Early Bronze types, which were replaced by the characteristic Middle Bronze forms in the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries before Christ, or about 1800 B.C., as we know from the parallel Egyptian objects found at Gezer and elsewhere. This is not the place to discuss the pottery of Bâb ed-Drâ', which has been described in the writer's paper, "The Jordan Valley in the Bronze Age," prepared several months before the present one, and designed to appear in the sixth volume of the *Annual*. In this paper the whole question of the Cities of the Plain and the date of Gen. XIV has also been treated, though the latter was only con-

¹¹ JPOS 2, 110-38, especially pp. 129f.

¹² AJSL 40, 125-33.

¹³ *Bulletin*, no. 14, pp. 2 ff.; *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 81, pp. 276 ff. MALLON, *Biblica*, vol. 5, pp. 413-55 (with numerous illustrations).

sidered briefly. Since the paper was sent to the editor, however, new material of considerable importance has come to light, which warrants a full treatment of the Chedorlaomer episode in the light of present evidence.

A careful study of the Bâb ed-Drâ' pottery in the light of the material from Gezer, Jericho and elsewhere, seems to point strongly to an earlier date of the great catastrophe, as just observed, so there is reason for reconsidering the date in the seventeenth century proposed by the writer for the events narrated in Gen. XIV. A more careful study of the so-called Spartoli or "Chedorlaomer" tablets agrees with an earlier date, in the eighteenth century B.C., if not in the late nineteenth. We must, however, subject these texts to a searching examination before we can use them as the basis for far-reaching deductions. The three tablets containing the text date from the Late Babylonian period, but the original composition clearly belongs to the Cossaeon age, as shown by the use of the name *Karduniaš* for Babylonia. Theoretically, of course, the name could point to a later date of composition, but the events described cannot possibly be placed after the twelfth century. The name *Ummân-manda* was formerly regarded as clear indication of the late origin of our text, but now that it has been found repeatedly in earlier documents of the third and second millennia, especially from Cappadocia,¹⁴ no argument for lateness can be drawn from it. The three Babylonian names mentioned point to the first half of the second millennium: *Ibî-Tutu*¹⁵ is characteristically Old Babylonian, since names in *Ibî-* are not formed later; *Tukulti-Bêlit-ilâni*¹⁶ may be referred to the second millennium, when names in *Tukulti-* begin to be formed;

¹⁴ Cf. FORRER, ZDMG I (N.F.) 247 ff.; UNGNAD, *Die ältesten Völkerwanderungen*, Breslau, 1923, pp. 10 ff.

¹⁵ Names beginning with the element *ibî* are very common in the Old Babylonian period, but are unknown from the Cossaeon age on. *Ibî-Tutu* means "Tutu (identified with Marduk) has given a name (= *ibbi* from *nabû*)."

¹⁶ The name is written *BÂD-MAḤ-DINGIR-MEŠ*, which JEREMIAS would read *Dur-maḥ-ilâni*, a name otherwise unparalleled. Since *BÂD-MAḤ* = *tukultu* (MEISSNER, 2919), and *dMAḤ* = *Bêlit-ili* or *Bêlit-ilâni* (BRÜNNOW, 1050, &c.), I have no hesitation in regarding the writing as equivalent to *BÂD-MAḤ-MAḤ-DINGIR-MEŠ*, just as *KU-KU-KU-MAL* = *KU-KU-KU-KU-MAL*. *Tukulti-Bêlit-ili (ilâni)* is a perfectly regular name, pointing both to the late period because of the use of the element *tukulti*, and to the early period when *Bêlit-ili* was one of the most popular Babylonian goddesses.

*Arad-Ekua*¹⁷ is rather colorless. The non-Babylonian names do not furnish material for chronological attribution.

The nature of the composition was first explained clearly by ALFRED JEREMIAS,¹⁸ who pointed out the striking similarity of the view-point to the so-called Deuteronomic attitude of the historical books of the Old Testament. The theme is retribution. The people of Babylonia sin against the gods and neglect their service, whereupon the gods send a victorious foe into the land to scourge it, and even permit the enemy to carry their own statues into captivity, destroy their temples and lay their fields waste. Having attained their purpose and brought the Babylonians to repentance, the gods wreak their vengeance upon their impious instruments, who meet with violent deaths. Unfortunately, the text remains fragmentary, and while we can see from the recurrence of names that it all refers to one period and to a chain of closely related episodes, the exact sequence of events is difficult to determine.

The first tablet tells us that Tukultî-Bêlit-ilâni son of Arad-Ekua, Tudhula son of Gazza [], and Kudur-Laḥamal king of Elam all devastated Babylonia, or spoiled Babylon and Esagila, and suffered for their impiety by being slain by their own sons. The second tablet describes Kudur-Laḥamal's devastation of Babylonian cities and shrines, among which Ekur, Dulmaḥ, Ešarra, Eadagege of the god Ennundagalla are mentioned. The reverse continues this theme, adding Eanna of the god Anu in Erech to the list of despoiled sanctuaries. Lines 20-23 of the reverse are most illuminating, since they tell us that the wicked Kudur-Laḥamal levied the Umman-manda and laid waste the land of Ellil. The next section says that Ibî-Tutu, of the Sea Lands, advanced to the north, settling in an abode which "was not his," and in some way doing harm to Ezida, the temple of Nâbû in Borsippa. It would seem that Ibî-Tutu was allied to the Elamites, who are described in the immediately following paragraph as plundering the temples of Borsippa. The third tablet would be extremely valuable if it were complete, since its extant contents prove that we have here an epic composition. Part of a highly rhetorical letter is apparently

¹⁷ The name *Arad-Ekua* means "Servant of Ekua (chapel of Marduk in Babylon)." Names compounded with names of temples or shrines seem to come in during the second millennium.

¹⁸ MVAG 21, 69 ff.

contained in lines 1 ff., to judge from line 17, which begins, "[the wor]lds which you write." The gods seem to command Kudur-Laḥamal king of Elam to "descend into Babylon, the city of Karduniaš, and exercise royalty." Lines 17 ff. refer to "a king, the son of a king," and "the son of the king's daughter, who has sat on the royal throne." Since 19 ff. state that Tukultî-Bêlit-ilâni has occupied the royal throne and has become lord of Babylon, it would appear that he was the son of the king's daughter, and that his father Arad-Ekua was a noble who married the princess. Whether his appointment or usurpation was pleasing to the gods is not clear from the following lines, with which the fragment breaks off, but the first tablet asserts in the most unmistakable words that it was not—quite the reverse, since the gods punish him by assassination at his son's hand. It is evident from the third tablet that it was precisely Kudur-Laḥamal of Elam who was the instrument of punishment, and we may conclude that the assassination was the sequel of the usurper's defeat by the Elamites.

From the foregoing fragments we may offer a tentative reconstruction of the historical situation. First, it is highly probable that we should rearrange the order of the tablets so that the third would be first, the second remain in its place, and the first become the third. The third tablet begins by describing, whether directly or in the form of a letter, the council of the gods, who decide to punish Babylon for its impiety. It goes on to tell of the usurpation of Tukultî-Bêlit-ilâni, and his embroilment with the Elamite king. The second tablet, where the reverse and obverse should apparently be interchanged, describes the invasion of Babylonia and the destruction of the temples by the Elamite king with his Manda troops and by Ibî-Tutu of the Sea Lands. The riches of the temples, presumably including the statues of the gods, are carried to Elam. The first tablet then recapitulates, and predicts Marduk's reconciliation and the restoration of Babylon and Esagila. Secondly, the events in question are without question historical, but cannot possibly be located in any century later than the fifteenth, because our knowledge of the period after about 1450 B.C. is too full to allow a lacuna into which the situation can be crowded. The total absence of Cossaeon names shows that the events must have preceded—since they cannot have followed—the establishment of the Third Dynasty of Babylon about 1742 B.C. Can we reasonably

place Kudur-Lahamal and his contemporaries in the dark period before this date, when the fall of the Hammurabi Dynasty had plunged Babylonia into anarchy? We believe that this satisfies all the conditions remarkably well, and may be considered as relatively certain. First of all, we must discuss the chronology of the period.

As is well-known, there has been a long debate over the date of the First Dynasty of Babylon. After the discovery of the KING Chronicle, which confirmed HOMMEL's contention that the First and Second Dynasties were partly, at least, contemporaneous, there was a strong tendency, supported by the Assyrian synchronisms just published by DELITZSCH, to eliminate the Second Dynasty entirely, placing the end of the First either immediately or shortly before the foundation of the Third. This movement among Assyriologists was checked by KUGLER's brilliant astronomical researches, as a result of which the latter fixed the beginning of the First Dynasty at 2225 B.C., a date which agreed remarkably well with the Babylonian material, though not with the Assyrian. EDUARD MEYER, who had accepted the later date in the second edition of his *Geschichte*, returned to the earlier one, following KUGLER, in the third edition. In 1917, however, WEIDNER published some important new chronological lists from Assur, which supported the lower dates.¹⁹ Moreover, collaboration with the astronomer NEUGEBAUER produced new results on the basis of KUGLER's own material, and led WEIDNER to reduce the latter's date for the First Dynasty by 168 years, in accord with the apparent Assyrian synchronisms. However, other scholars, like OLMSTEAD²⁰ and the writer,²¹ felt that the reduced chronology raised more difficulties than it solved, and maintained the higher dates. The problem of the Assyrian synchronisms was solved by the writer to his own satisfaction in an article in this journal,²² where he showed that the supposed synchronisms were probably artificial constructions of the Assyrian scribes and historiographers. Meanwhile the English astronomer FOTHERINGHAM, working with LANGDON,²³ secured still

¹⁹ *Studien zur assyrisch-babylonischen Chronologie*, MVAG 20, 4.

²⁰ AJSL 38, 225-8.

²¹ RA 18, 83-94.

²² JSOR 8, 51-9.

²³ *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, vol. II, 1923, pp. I-III.

different results, which were promptly confirmed by German astronomer-assyriologists, especially by SCHNABEL, working on the basis of greatly increased material.²⁴ SCHNABEL's brilliant paper on the subject seems to confirm FOTHERINGHAM's chronology decisively, and to dispose of all KUGLER's objections. It should be added in this connection that KUGLER recently surrendered his own former date, adopting his latest alternative chronology, which is slightly lower than that of WEIDNER.²⁵ The arguments of SCHNABEL, however, seem definitive. According to FOTHERINGHAM and SCHNABEL the beginning of the First Dynasty should be placed 56 years later than KUGLER's first date and 120 years earlier than KUGLER's second one, 112 years earlier than WEIDNER's date. To the historian this result is illuminating, disposing of the most serious objections previously raised to the earlier and later dates. Essentially, it is a confirmation of the views of the "long" chronologists in this instance, since our dates were less than half as far wrong as were those of our opponents.

The fall of the First Dynasty after the capture of Babylon by the Hittites must now be dated about 1870 B.C., and the subsequent interval before the conquest of Northern Babylonia by the Cossaeans must have lasted about 128 years, more or less. Just what happened during this obscure period of more than a century, totally destitute of contemporary records of any kind, is a mystery. The Hittites captured Babylon, probably in the reign of Mursilis I, as recorded in our new Hittite sources, but we do not know whether they continued to occupy it or not. The Babylonian king-lists fill up this period with a Dynasty of the Sea Lands, whose kings begin to take grandiloquent Sumerian names like "Destroyer of the Universe" (*Gulkišar*) shortly after the end of the First Dynasty, with which it was at first contemporary.²⁶ Before the end of the dynasty its kings return to plain Semitic names, a fact which certainly hints that their power was greatly reduced. Whether they actually controlled Northern Babylonia during this interval is extremely doubtful, and is not exactly favored by the total absence of inscriptions from them. It may be that our ignorance concerning them is due to the fact that their capital remained

²⁴ ZA 36 (1925), 109-22; cf. also SCHÖCH, *Klio*, 1925, pp. 107-9.

²⁵ *Von Moses bis Paulus* (1922), p. 497.

²⁶ Cf. JSOR 8, 57.

in the Sea Lands, presumably at Dûr-Ea, the site of which is unknown. Yet they could hardly have held Babylon without showing some interest in it, so it seems more likely that Northern Babylonia and Babylon itself continued for this period of over a century in a state of anarchy, with intervals of foreign domination. The Sea Land itself was probably not organized into a particularly stable kingdom, since the data of the king-lists are rendered suspicious by the abnormally high regnal years of A. B, which gives quite erroneous regnal years for the kings of the First Dynasty, omits the years entirely for the Second Dynasty. The names themselves are made doubtful by the fact that an Assur list, though very much broken, inserts a wholly different name after that of Gulkišar. Evidently there was practically no reliable information available for the period between the First and the Third Dynasties.

Into this period the data of the Spartoli Tablets fit extraordinarily well. Northern Babylonia was in a state of anarchy. A usurper, Tukultî-Bêlit-ilâni, son of Arad-Ekua, who had married the daughter of a preceding king, is defeated by an Elamite invader and is assassinated by his own son. The Elamite invader is assisted by an army of nomads from the northeast, the Umman-manda, while an invader from the Sea Land, one Ibî-Tutu, takes advantage of the situation to invade Northern Babylonia and to settle there. Since the Sea Land fell into the hands of the Cossaeans shortly after the beginning of the Third Dynasty, and remained Cossaeon down to the eleventh century, as shown by the Cossaeon names of the kings of the Sea Land Dynasty, Ibî-Tutu, quite aside from his Old Babylonian name, cannot be placed later than about 1700. Another invader of the time, Tudhûla son of Gazza [] bears an undoubted Hittite name, *Tudhûl(ias)*, borne by at least five Hittite kings and princes of the middle of the second millennium. Whether this Tudhûla was the chief of Kudur-Laḥamal's Manda allies is not clear; a Hittite adventurer may have taken service with any of the princes of Western Asia at that time, and may have been placed in charge of the barbarian army or horde by the Elamite king; Tudhûla may also have been a survivor from the time of the Hittite conquest of Babylon.

Valuable confirmation of the historicity of our narrative, with additional details, is furnished by a disregarded passage in the

great Babylonian compendium of astrology.²⁷ The text reads as follows: *ûmu XX^{kam}*: (*Šin u Šamaš itti aḫameš innamrû*) *Umman-manda itêbî-ma mâta ibêl, parakkê ilâni rabûti innasaḫû, "Bêl ana mât Elamti alâka iqâbî, ina XXX šanâti tuqtû uttarrû, ilâni rabûti ašrûšunu iturrû* = The twentieth day: (the moon and sun are in conjunction)—the Umman-manda invade and rule the land, the sanctuaries of the great gods are destroyed, Bêl commands a journey to Elam, vengeance will be taken after thirty years, the great gods will return to their places. The interest of this passage is evident, since the agreement of the details with the data of the Spartoli text is too great to be accidental. Nor is there any difficulty regarding the date, since the astrological compendium *enûma Anu Ellil* contains references to historical occurrences of the second millennium, though the majority do indeed belong to the third millennium. Thus MEISSNER cites a reference to the king of Hatti²⁸ and another to the invasion of Subartu (northeastern Mesopotamia) by the Aḫlame,²⁹ both only possible in the second millennium B.C. The new light on the Spartoli text shows, therefore, that the rôle played by the Umman-manda was greater than might be supposed from the latter alone. While these hordes were allied to the Elamites, who carried the Babylonian gods captive to Elam, it was the former who actually occupied the land, which was not freed from the Elamite-Manda yoke until a generation had passed. If we knew who the liberator of Babylonia was, we could probably date these events approximately, but whether a king of the Sea Land, or a native prince, or even Gandaš, founder of the Cossaeen Dynasty, is referred to we have no means of knowing.

From Elamite sources we learn nothing, since our information from Susa is characterized chiefly by the number of lacunae. The dynasty of Igi-ḫalki was on the throne apparently for several centuries, though we have only half a dozen names, and have no inscriptions except from Humban-ummena and his son Untaš-GAL, who reigned in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the seventeenth. Inscriptions of Humban-ummena have been found at Liyan, near the modern Bender Bushire, a good 300 miles southeast of Susa, while his son claims to have

²⁷ VIROLLEAUD, *Astrologie chaldéenne*, *Sin*, IV, 21—2.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, *Sin*, XXXIII, 33, 41.

²⁹ BuA II, 248.

conquered Kaštiliaš I of Babylon and to have carried his god captive to Susa.³⁰ There is, therefore, nothing at all remarkable in the career of a Kutur-Laḥamal during this period, whether before or after Humban-ummena and Untaš-GAL.

The rôle of the *Umman-manda* is exceedingly interesting, and undoubtedly throws light on the movements of the Indo-Iranians during the early part of the second millennium. Hitherto it has been uncertain whether the Indo-Iranian irruption into Western Asia preceded or followed the foundation of the Cossaeon Dynasty. Most scholars have probably believed that it followed the latter event, since the Cossaeans were certainly under strong Indo-Iranian influence, and their movement into Mesopotamia may be readily explained by the pressure of Indo-Iranian hordes behind them. On the other hand, however, the Cossaeans may have been brushed aside or even passed by the Indo-Iranians, and have been encouraged by the success of the latter to attempt the same thing on their own account. However this may be, we find the Indo-Iranians appearing in our text—at least apparently—while no Cossaeans are yet mentioned. In view of the fact that the term *Umman-manda* is employed for the Cimmerians and perhaps for the Medes in the inscriptions of the first millennium, and that the Indo-Iranians seem to be called *Manda* also in the Boghaz-köi texts, it is only natural to identify the *Manda* of our document with the Indo-Iranians. The expression may, however, simply be the equivalent of “northeastern hordes,” an alternative which it is essential to bear in mind. To judge from the proper names of undoubted Indo-Iranian character which appear in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor and especially in Northern Mesopotamia during the Late Bronze Age (1600–1200 B.C.), the Indo-Iranian invasion partook of the nature of a *Völkerwanderung*. Yet it was not entirely a wholesale migration of peoples, as is shown by the fact that in Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria the Aryans became the ruling stratum of the population only, while the native language carried the day everywhere. It would seem that the Indo-Iranians came in on the crest of a great irruption, or migration of peoples, and thus succeeded in establishing themselves in power with comparatively small numbers. Nor should we forget that they

³⁰ Cf. AJSL 40, 128f.

practically introduced the use of the horse into Western Asia, so that the Babylonians called the horse "ass of the east," while the Hittites employed Aryan words to denote technical terms of horse-breeding. Even the Semitic word *sûs*, "horse," is derived from Indo-Iranian *aśwas*.³¹

Now that we have evidence of the conquest of Babylonia, at least in part, by the Manda during the period 1870-1740 B.C., we are forced to think of the corresponding irruption of barbarians into Egypt, about the beginning of the seventeenth century B.C. Our material for the identification of the Hyksos is mainly of two kinds, onomastic and archaeological. The onomastic evidence is very difficult. Half the names are clearly Semitic and some seem to be specifically Hebrew. The other half are extremely illusive. All that can be said at present is that no demonstrably Hittite names appear among them, since the name *Ḫyn-Ḫayanu* may be Semitic.³² While there may well have been Hyksos of Hittite extraction, the Hyksos were not Hittites. We must always remember that the Ḫatte had been settled in Asia Minor for centuries before the Hyksos invasion of Egypt, and had established a powerful empire and an autonomous civilization there. Had the Hyksos been Hittites, we should undoubtedly have cuneiform records and Anatolian monuments in Egypt, and the name "Ḫatte" would have been remembered in the land which the foreigners ruled for over a century. So far as the evidence from names goes, the Hyksos were a congeries of peoples, among whom the Semites and an unidentified element play the principal part, the latter being most important, at least at first.

The archaeological material is scanty. The "Hyksos" portraits of Tanis are now known to be much older. The "Hyksos" scarabs simply perpetuate and corrupt Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasty types. The Tell el-Yahūdīyeh pottery is still puzzling, but the

³¹ UNGNAD, *op. cit.*, p. 11, n. 3.

³² The question is very difficult, since Ḫayanu's son and successor bore the very unsemitic name of *Kilammû* (*Klmw*), like *Panammû*. Moreover the spelling in West-Semitic characters was *Ḫy'* = *Ḫayá'*, showing a variation hard to explain in a Semitic name. It has been suggested that the name *Gabbar*, belonging to an immediate predecessor of Ḫayanu, and called the latter's father in the Assyrian texts, is a corruption of the non-Semitic name *Kalparunda-Gabbarud*. Such semi-tizations are no more difficult than the similar hellenizations of Semitic names under the Seleucid kingdom.

evidence of African origin is accumulating, and the forms of the vases are evidently derived from characteristic Twelfth Dynasty shapes.³³ There remains the argument from the peculiar Hyksos fortress, which the writer has advanced before,³⁴ but which has not been accepted by the majority of students of the question for reasons which lie on the surface. Now we are in a much better position, and, since the point at issue has a close bearing upon the migrations of the Indo-Iranians, it will be advisable to go into more detail than we otherwise should in a paper on Genesis XIV.

Some twenty years ago FLINDERS PETRIE excavated at Tell el-Yahūdīyeh, about twenty miles north of Cairo, and discovered there a very remarkable square fortress with walls of sand enclosed in a sheath of brickwork and stucco.³⁵ The fortress is, properly speaking, an enclosed area surrounded by a bank of sand with sloping sides. The outside dimensions of the enclosure are about 450-475 meters, so that the total length of the wall was roughly about 1800 meters, or more than a mile. The bank itself was about 40-60 meters wide at the base, so that the inside area of the fortress was about 12-13 hectares, or two and one half the size of Megiddo. PETRIE's description of the construction of the bank is briefly as follows:—The bank is mostly composed of pure sand, but on one side it is made largely of marly lumps, while at the southeast corner much of it is of yellow lumps of decomposed basalt from the lava flow a mile or two to the east on the desert. Scattered bricks and irregular short walls of loosely piled bricks occur, perhaps in order to mark the limits of working gangs. The loose material was kept in place by lining walls of sun-dried brick, inside and outside. The outside lining wall has survived in part, though the inner one has been almost entirely removed by native diggers. From the remains of the outer one it appears that it sloped back in stepped ledges. Its face was protected by a sloping glacis, covered on the outside with a lining of stucco. The height of the slope or glacis was about 15 to 20 meters, according to the angle of the slope, which varies from 27° to 55°.

³³ After all the discussions by JUNKER, NAVILLE, BONNET, REISNER, &c., the problem is still obscure, though the analogy of undoubted Egyptian vase-forms is still the closest, as stressed by REISNER. The writer hopes to discuss the matter elsewhere soon.

³⁴ JPOS 2, 122f.

³⁵ PETRIE, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, pp. 3-16.

This extraordinary variation is only another proof of the helpless character of the engineering. Entrance to the enclosure was obtained, not by gates, but by an ascending ramp, which started some way off from the base of the glacis, and led to the top of the bank, a distance of seventy-five meters, according to PETRIE's plan, though in the text he gives the length as just under seventy (225 feet). The breadth of the ascent is between ten and eleven meters (35 feet), thus providing ample space for two chariots to drive abreast without interfering with footmen and loaded asses.

There has been some criticism of PETRIE's conclusions on the ground that the bank may originally have been surmounted by a wall, as generally in Western Asiatic mural construction. PETRIE and GRIFFITH saw no trace whatever of a brick wall on top of the bank, so that the former is quite justified in saying: "It seems therefore that at first the earthwork alone was the defence; and later, when walls were valued, the great stone wall outside rendered any brick wall needless." It is quite true that the Bronze Age walls of Palestine and Syria are frequently erected on a foundation bank of beaten earth, protected, like the base of the wall above, by a sloping glacis lined with stone. But the height of the bank is never more than three or four meters, and certainly cannot be compared with our bank of 15 meters' elevation. The construction, moreover, is absolutely different, since the foundation bank of Asiatic walls was designed to play the same part as modern concrete foundations. The great mass of loose sand and lumps of marl which composes the enclosing banks of Tell el-Yahūdîyeh is as unsuitable as can be imagined to serve as the substructure for a wall. That small walls may later have been erected on enclosing banks of this nature is not, of course, impossible, but requires to be proved, since ancient builders were not quite fools.

The date of the enclosure is established by the quantities of remains of the Hyksos time found inside by PETRIE's soundings, which were in no way exhaustive. It is certainly older than the Twentieth Dynasty, when it was cut down and altered. During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties its construction, which is as un-Egyptian as possible, could not have been undertaken. In and around the fortress, however, was found a profusion of scarabs and pottery of the Hyksos age, many of the former bearing the names of Hyksos kings or belonging unquestionably to their

reigns. The very few scarabs and other remains of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties are easily explicable as belonging to the spoils of war taken by the Hyksos; there is no evidence whatever pointing to an older period of construction. We may, therefore, feel reasonably confident that Tell el-Yahūdīyeh is a genuine Hyksos fortress, or fortified camp.

In the spring of 1912 PETRIE and ENGELBACH discovered a new enclosure of the same type as that of Tell el-Yahūdīyeh, at Heliopolis, within the great temenos of the temple.³⁶ The size, form and construction of this fortress proved to be almost identical with that of Tell el-Yahūdīyeh, only eleven miles away. The nucleus of the embankment is of Nile mud, as to be expected from the location of Heliopolis in the alluvium. Not satisfied with this material, the builders then brought sand and laid several alternate layers of sand and mud. The original embankment was about eight meters wide at the top and fifteen to sixteen at the bottom; the exact height is not certain, but is estimated by PETRIE as about six meters. After the construction of the original embankment it was faced on the inside with a lining of bricks, the sloping inner face of which may still be traced. On the outside a mass of adobe was laid down, so as to increase the total width of the bank to fully forty meters, if not more. This thick casing of brick-work was carried over the top, which may have thus been raised several meters. The whole enclosure was nearly square, with rounded corners, and measured about 425-450 meters on a side, so that it was only a very little smaller than the fortress of Tell el-Yahūdīyeh. In both cases the original construction was a simple "earthwork," but the exigencies of defense in a highly civilized country like Egypt soon forced the occupants to strengthen their defenses along more satisfactory lines. The embankment of Heliopolis is no easier than that of the other to explain as the substructure of a city wall—for a city which evidently was ephemeral, since it contained no important public buildings. The combined judgment of such able archaeologists as PETRIE, QUIBELL and ENGELBACH should not be lightly disregarded.

It is harder to fix the exact date of our fortress, since the remains of the original settlement inside are now far below the water level,

³⁶ PETRIE, *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurafa*, London, 1915, pp. 3-4 and plates I-III.

and cannot easily be studied. In the earth and sand of the bank were found numerous fragments of Old Empire sculptures, which prove that the enclosure is later than the Sixth Dynasty. The *terminus ante quem* is the Nineteenth Dynasty, whose constructions are demonstrably later than the embankment, which was cut away for them in places. Thus we are again forced to the Hyksos Period for the erection of our embankment, though not with the approach to certainty which we enjoy in the case of the embankment of Tell el-Yahūdîyeh. Similar fortresses may have been fairly numerous during the time of the Hyksos, since PETRIE reports having seen great walled enclosures without any original entrance in various parts of the Delta and Middle Egypt.

In our search for Asiatic parallels to the fortress of Tell el-Yahūdîyeh we come first to el-Miṣrifeh and Tell Sefînet Nûḥ, both in the neighborhood of Kadesh on the Orontes and modern Ḥumş. The writer has never found any constructions which even remotely approach this type in Palestine or Southern Syria. El-Miṣrifeh was studied before the war by Père RONZEVALLE, who published an account of it in 1914, though his description did not become generally accessible until 1921.³⁷ Since the war trial excavations have been made there by DU MESNIL DU BUISSON, whose work has not yet been published, though the objects found are exhibited in part at the museum in Damascus.

El-Miṣrifeh is an immense enclosure of earth, almost square, measuring a little over a kilometer on each side. Each side is oriented toward a direction of the compass. The average height of the earth embankment is now about fifteen meters, while the width of the base varies between 65 and 80 m. The original height of the embankment may be taken as approximately 20 m., since this is the actual height at one place, while the original width at the base may safely be considered as about 60 m. In other words, the dimensions of a cross section of our embankment are almost identical with those of the embankment of Tell el-Yahūdîyeh. The extent of el-Miṣrifeh is much greater, since the approximate area inside the walls must be not far from ninety hectares, or fully seven times the size of Tell el-Yahūdîyeh. The other enclosed fortress of Tell Sefînet Nûḥ, which was never com-

³⁷ *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale* (Beyrouth), vol. 7, pp. 109—26.

pleted, is much smaller than el-Miṣrifeh, measuring about 350 m. by 400, and not being, therefore, exactly square. The inside area may have been practically identical with that of Tell el-Yahūdīyeh, or perhaps a little smaller. In both sites the embankment is constructed of earth, taken mostly from outside, so that the enclosure is surrounded by a dry moat, of which traces still remain. It will be noticed that in all three cases only the materials at hand were employed. The only difference was that at Tell el-Yahūdīyeh the loose embankment of sand and lumps of marl had to be held up by retaining walls or casings of adobe and stucco; in Syria this was not necessary, since the casings could be made of clay or beaten earth.

The extraordinary similarity in the construction of the Egyptian and Syrian fortresses will not require further commentary. It happens that the date is almost equally clear. RONZEVALLE rightly rejected the idea of the first travellers, that the Syrian enclosures were Roman camps (!), but he did not dare go back to too remote a date. After pointing out that the head of a colossal statue of Syro-Hittite type which he had found at el-Miṣrifeh belonged to the same general age as the Hadad of Zinjirli, he felt justified in carrying the date of the site back at least to 900 B.C., especially since no constructions of this character are known from the Assyrian, Persian or Hellenistic periods. He then proceeded to compare the fortified camp of Tell el-Yahūdīyeh, excavated by PETRIE, but expressed himself sceptically with regard to the Hyksos date assigned the fortress by this scholar, both because of MASPERO's criticism and because of the lack of information on the Hyksos and their Asiatic empire. RONZEVALLE then assigned the fortress tentatively to the Philistines and their allies, who are said in the inscriptions of Rameses III to have built a camp in the land of the Amorites. The improbability of this conclusion is shown by the fact that no such fortified camps are known from the land of the Philistines, and that the Peoples of the Sea depended mainly upon ships and would not have risked establishing a fortified camp so far from their naval base. The term "land of the Amor" is altogether too vague to assist us here.

During a careful study of the site (October, 1925) the writer was able to secure clear-cut ceramic evidence for the approximate date of the rampart. The excavations of DU MESNIL DU BUISSON

were properly treasure hunts rather than scientific explorations, but they brought to light a quantity of pottery, now in the museum of Damascus, as well as miscellaneous sherds, some of which are still kept in the schoolhouse at el-Miṣrifeh. The excavations in the upper part of the tell, near the village, which lies in the western part of the enclosed area, partly on the tell and partly off, disclosed a number of graves containing pottery of the Late Bronze and Early Iron, as confirmed by Père VINCENT, who studied the pottery in Damascus much more carefully than the writer had time for. The sherds from DU MESNIL's trenches belong to the Early-Middle Bronze (moulded and incised rope bands), Late Bronze (piece of *bilbil*, &c.), Early Iron (typical burnished rims of bowls and plates). The site was occupied later in the Roman and Byzantine period, but the remains from this age do not concern us here. Our principal attention was devoted to the ramparts, which we examined for possible pieces of broken pottery, thrown up with the earth of which they were constructed. Since there already was a mound within the enclosure it was *a priori* improbable that there would be an entire absence of pottery, as at Tell Sefînet Nûḥ, which was built far from an ancient settlement. We were not unsuccessful in our search, which yielded hundreds of potsherds, all very much broken and worn, but all from the summit of the rampart, so that there is no possibility of later intrusion. The types found were: (1) flat bottomed vessels of the Early Bronze; (2) all principal types of the Early Bronze incised found in the mounds of Central Syria; (3) bowls with inverted (turned in) rims, which are characteristic of the Early and Middle Bronze; (4) plates or flat bowls with bodies sharply carinated just under rims; (5) thin walled jugs with cyma shapes, as at Beth-yerah and at other Early Bronze sites of Palestine and Syria; (6) cooking pot rims of early type. The total absence of any pieces which can be reasonably ascribed to the Late Bronze is very striking, especially in view of the frequency of Late Bronze in DU MESNIL's excavations, which prove the importance of el-Miṣrifeh during that period. It becomes, therefore, impossible to date the rampart later than the middle of the second millennium B.C. The *terminus a quo* may be placed roughly about the beginning of the second millennium, and attempts to date the erection of the rampart in very early times need no further disproof.

In the southeastern corner of the enclosure DU MESNIL tried to excavate an interesting tumulus, called Qubbet Lût, "Lot's Dome." Having, apparently, some hazy idea that the burial must be under the bottom of the tumulus, in a subterranean chamber, he sank a deep vertical shaft at the base of the tumulus, from which he ran horizontal shafts into the virgin soil under it. Nothing was found, of course, and the burial over which the tumulus was erected still remains to be excavated—fortunately for scholarship. On and around the tumulus were broken potsherds belonging to the Early and perhaps to the Middle Bronze, so it probably belongs to the builders of the rampart, since the sherds in question represent, again, the *terminus a quo* of erection. Between el-Mišrifeh and Hums, and just east of the village of Deir Ba'albeh is a large tumulus called Tell Šihâb ed-Dîn. At one side of the tumulus is a depression like a very old excavation, from which the material for the tumulus had probably been dug. On the top was a small excavation, which enabled us to see that the texture of the tumulus is exactly like that of the tumulus in the enclosure at Mišrifeh, and very much like that of such a characteristic one as Rujm el-Barriš west of Jerusalem, which the writer has excavated. There can, therefore, be no doubt that it is not a mound, but a true tumulus of heaped up earth and stones. The *rujm* was covered with broken pieces of large jars, mostly *pithoi*, many of which exhibited very degenerate rope and incised decoration, which one may safely ascribe to the early part of the second millennium. The red burnished sherds which were found sparingly might have belonged either to the Early or to the Middle Bronze. It may safely be supposed that these *pithoi* and other vases were brought with offerings to the dead, or as *ex votos*. At all events, it is difficult not to connect this tumulus with el-Mišrifeh, and refer it to the great migratory movements of the early second millennium.

M. BROSSÉ has found clear traces of an enclosing rampart like that at Mišrifeh around Tell Nebi Mendû, ancient Kadesh on the Orontes. This fact is very interesting in connection with the view of BREASTED and others, that the prince of Kadesh, who headed the great revolt against Tuthmosis III, was the true heir to the Hyksos empire in Syria. It may well be that the rampart at Kadesh was also built by the Hyksos.

For completeness we should notice also the fact that earth ramparts were also employed in building sections of the city walls

of Ashkelon, Carchemish and Boghaz-köi.³⁸ These ramparts are different from the substructures of beaten earth or clay which form so common a feature of the Bronze Age walls of Palestine, though in certain cases walls were erected on them later. On the other hand, they do not have any direct connection with our earth ramparts, which are invariably square, or nearly so, while the walls of these cities are quite the reverse of square. It is, however, curious that the earth rampart of Carchemish is dated by WOOLLEY confidently in the Middle Hittite period, that is, in the first half of the second millennium, and that the corresponding ramparts of Ashkelon and Boghaz-köi probably belong in the same general age. It may well be that the builders were influenced by the same semi-nomadic culture to which we may ascribe el-Miṣrifeh and its congeners. This culture was, however, alien to Western Asia, as may be shown by the absence of earthen ramparts there in the earlier period, as well as by the fact that none have been found in Mesopotamia as yet; Mesopotamia, as is well-known, was the center of Western Asiatic culture, which there achieved its most characteristic form. In objecting to the writer's derivation of the earth rampart style of fortification from the northern steppes, HALL³⁹ observes that Mesopotamia is also "a land of tumuli and earthen ramparts," but no illustrations are given, and the writer knows of none. Naturally, it is exceedingly probable that similar ramparts, of the same general date and origin, will be found in Mesopotamia as well as in Syria.

In Transcaspia we find precisely similar enclosures, studied and described in connection with the excavations at Anau by the PUMPELLEY expedition. The most striking ones were found in the Merv oasis, in the extreme south of Transcaspia. Ghiaur Kalah⁴⁰ is a rectangular enclosure, about 1800 by 2100 meters in extent, that is, nearly square. The sides are indicated by a chain of

³⁸ Cf. GARSTANG, *PEFQS* 1922, 112 f.; WOOLLEY, *Carchemish*, part II, pp. 43 ff.; PUCHSTEIN, *Boghazköi—die Bauwerke*, p. 37. It must be said, however, that the real nature of the supposed earthen rampart at Boghaz-köi is by no means certain, since it was not cut through, and has been supposed to represent an exceptionally thick, stone-lined soubassement.

³⁹ Cf. *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay*, p. 171, n. 1. HALL believes that the Hittite element in the Hyksos hordes was dominant, and is opposed to their derivation from Central Asia.

⁴⁰ PUMPELLEY, *Explorations in Turkestan. Prehistoric Civilizations of Anau*, vol. I, pp. 187 ff.

closely contiguous conical hills, and are oriented exactly, just as at Tell el-Yahūdiyyeh and Mišrifeh. In the northern part was the old acropolis, which was occupied until the early Middle Ages, as shown by the extensive Sassanian and early Islamic remains discovered near the surface. The acropolis was itself, however, a city of considerable size, with a mean diameter of about 450 meters, and an area of some fifteen hectares, surrounded by its own wall. It is, therefore, likely that the rectangular enclosure is much older than the later city, which grew up on the old acropolis. The walls of the enclosure appear from the description to be of earth, since the "closely contiguous conical hills" would otherwise be difficult to explain. In the same oasis there is another similar fortress, called Kirk Tepe,⁴¹ situated about fifteen miles northeast of Ghiaur Kalah. Kirk Tepe is a square enclosure, over 300 meters on a side, with thick mud walls which are still over six meters high in places, but which have been worn down into a chain of rounded and semi-isolated hillocks. The interior is practically level, and there is an acropolis against the northern wall, in the same situation as at Ghiaur Kalah. It is a pity that excavations have not yet been undertaken in these and other similar sites, which certainly precede the Christian era. Their extraordinary similarity to the enclosed camps or fortresses which we have been discussing is too great to be accidental.

RONZEVALLE was not aware of the tepes of Transcaspia, but he called attention to Qal'eh Ghebri near Verâmin, southeast of Teheran in Persia, which was studied by the Déléation en Perse in 1909.⁴² Qal'eh Ghebri is a fortified enclosure measuring 1000 by 1200 meters, and thus is almost the same in size as el-Mišrifeh. While rectangular, nearly square in form, its sides are not oriented, as most of the other similar fortresses are. The walls are constructed of adobe brick, another difference, and still have an average height

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 226-7. It should be noted that the Islamic potsherds found sparingly in the interior are presumably the remains of Turkoman encampments, and have no value in fixing the age of the constructions. The fortified camps of Transcaspia are probably more or less characteristic of the entire Bronze Age, and may easily cover a span of two or three thousand years. There is thus no particular point to MALLON's remark that the fortified enclosures of Merv "sont extrêmement anciens, et, par conséquent, sans relation, semble-t-il, avec les conquérants de l'Égypte au XVII^e siècle" (JPOS 5, 91).

⁴² *Mémoires*, tome XII, pp. 61-2.

of 10 meters, with a width of 15 at the base. The size of the bricks, 40 cm. square by 10 cm. thick, points to a high antiquity, long preceding the Persian period. On the outside of the walls are towers, placed at regular intervals of 30 meters. Qal'eh Ghebri is thus presumably posterior in date to the others, but still preserves the principal characteristics of size and form. We may remember that Tell el-Yahūdiyeh was later surrounded by a stone wall, which replaced the older embankment of sand and marl.

In the light of this material it seems almost impossible to escape the conclusion that the Hyksos nucleus, at least, came from the steppes of Transcaspia, bringing horses and chariots, which no doubt had a great share in ensuring an easy victory. The unusual extent of the earthwork enclosures discussed, all many times as large as the biggest Canaanite town of the Bronze Age, with the possible exception of Gaza and the certain one of Beth-yerah, suggests that their forces consisted mainly of chariots, a supposition which would account for the relatively large amount of space needed. Whether the Hyksos nucleus was Indo-Iranian or non-Aryan is obscure, but the rulers do not seem to have Aryan names. Yet the fact, already stressed, that in the Late Bronze Age we find the aristocracy of Northern Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine bearing largely Indo-Iranian names, proves clearly that there were many of this race in the hordes which overran Western Asia and Egypt. It is, of course, quite possible that the Indo-Iranians settled mostly in Northern Mesopotamia, driving out the Hebrew tribes from the region between the Euphrates and Hābūr, and that the latter formed one of the chief elements in the final phase of the great movement of peoples which we associate with the Hyksos.⁴³ At all events, though the Hebrews seem to have gained ground steadily under the Hyksos rule in Egypt, the wholly foreign character of the fortress construction proves the existence of a strong Transcaspian element in the hordes which conquered Egypt.

The next question which arises is this: Were the Umman-manda of the Spartoli tablets and the astrological cyclopaedia Indo-Europeans or not—or both, the word being primarily nothing

⁴³ Cf. JPOS 1, 65 f. and PIEPER, OLZ 28, 417 ff., who exaggerates the rôle of the Hebrews in the Hyksos confederation. The view that the Hebrews were driven out of Mesopotamia by the Indo-Iranians (Manda) is also maintained by BÖHL; see now especially *Het tijdperk der aartsvaders*, Groningen, 1925, 18 f.

more than a vague term for the nomadic peoples of the northeast? This can hardly be answered with our present knowledge. The writer inclines to believe that the name was primarily used in the last sense, and had no ethnic or linguistic connotation, but that the Indo-Iranians were so much in the ascendancy in the northeastern plains that the name was gradually restricted to them. We have the same tendency in the development of the word *Amurri*, "Amorite," which originally meant simply "Westerner," and was gradually limited to a specific West-Semitic people, who formed the principal element in the population of the "West."⁴⁴ If we are correct in dating the events recorded in the Spartoli tablets and Genesis XIV between 1850 and 1750 B.C., there is no difficulty in identifying the Manda with the "Hyksos," using the latter term in its widest sense. The writer formerly wished to distinguish between the two, suggesting that the Hyksos were driven into Western Asia by an Indo-Iranian (Manda) irruption,⁴⁵ but it is just as possible that the Hyksos were part of the Manda hordes, with additional elements added in the course of the Manda movement. If we suppose that the Manda migration began in the nineteenth century B.C., gaining strength gradually, and establishing itself in Syria during the eighteenth, the character of the Hyksos invasion of Egypt in or about the first decade of the seventeenth century becomes clear, and it becomes easy to understand how the Hebrews became attached to it. An exact picture of its course would doubtless be almost as complex as a corresponding picture of the barbarian invasions of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., so we must beware of attempting to simplify unduly. The writer has pointed out previously that the history of Assyria becomes obscure and the throne is claimed by rival dynasties of doubtful legitimacy in the eighteenth century B.C.,⁴⁶ and has suggested that the weakness of Assyria might be explicable in part from the chaotic condition of the country, which must have suffered terribly from repeated barbarian inundations.

Since the Manda of the Spartoli texts, like the Gôyîm of Genesis, are still apparently mercenary allies of the Elamites, it would seem that we should not lower the date of the episode too much

⁴⁴ Cf. provisionally *AJSL* 41, 77, n. 5 and 79, n. 2.

⁴⁵ Cf. *JSOR* 8, 55, n. 8 and the references there given.

⁴⁶ *JSOR* 8, 54 ff.

relatively to the main Hyksos movement. On the other hand, it would appear from the passage of the astrological cyclopaedia that they took advantage of the situation to settle in Babylonia, a fact which suggests that the movement was well under way. There is no direct evidence from Egyptian sources, since the Egyptian empire in Asia probably did not outlast the reign of Amenemmes IV, which fell in the first decade of the eighteenth century. During the chaotic days of the Thirteenth Dynasty, when monarch followed monarch with bewildering rapidity, almost anything might have happened in Asia without interesting the Egyptians particularly. It is quite possible that the Elamite king marched through Transjordan instead of taking the familiar Assyrian route through the coastal plain because the reputation of the Egyptian armies was still great. In view of all these considerations a date at the beginning of the eighteenth century would satisfy the requirements of Genesis XIV remarkably well, and since it also fits the evidence from Bâb ed-Drâ', as shown above, we may regard it as highly probable. We shall later see that this date suits the Hebrew traditions equally well.

There is little new to say regarding the figures of 'mrpl of Šn'r and of 'ryk of 'lsr,⁴⁷ and there is no object in recapitulating the suggestions made by the writer in former articles. Suffice it to say that the identification of the land of Šn'r with cuneiform Šanhar (= Šangar),⁴⁸ Egyptian Sngr (= Šngr),⁴⁹ Assyrian Singara (pronounced Šingar)⁵⁰ and classical Singara seems to be certain. The further identification of the kingdom called Šn'r in Genesis XIV with the state of Hana seems almost certain, especially because

⁴⁷ The identification of 'lsr is still obscure. The writer's former alternative suggestions Alsi (Alzi, Alziya, Alše) and Akarsallu-Ukarsilla are problematical, though neither can be proved impossible. LANGDON's attempt to read the Sumerian ideogram for *Larsa* as *Il(ZA)-rar* = *Ilzar* (dissimilation of middle liquid) is quite unconvincing (cf. JPOS 5, 160). It is to be hoped that nobody will propose the combination of 'lsr with *ālum Aššur* of the Cappadocian tablets!

⁴⁸ The sonant *h* (*ghayin*) is always written *h* in cuneiform.

⁴⁹ The *s* was pronounced *s* by the Amorites, so the Egyptians wrote *s* in Asiatic names which came to them from Amorite sources, and *s* in similar names which they heard from Canaanites, who pronounced this *s* as *š* from the twentieth century B.C. (at Byblos) on down. Cf. provisionally JBL 43, p. 384.

⁵⁰ The Assyrians pronounced the Babylonian *š* as *s* and conversely, as is very well known; final short vowels were lost in pronunciation long before they were discarded in writing.

the region of Ḫana and Singara (i.e., the Euphrates Valley about the mouth of the Ḫābūr and the Jebel Sinjār) were regarded by the Assyrians as naturally belonging together, and were formed by them into the province of Rašappa. Some important new material for the history of Ḫana in this period has recently been published by DHORME and THUREAU-DANGIN.⁵¹ In the fall of 1923 they made soundings at Tell 'Ašārah, the site of ancient Tirqa, long the capital of Ḫana, and discovered indications of the great antiquity of the place. Some new tablets were also acquired, throwing additional light on the age of the documents from Ḫana, which are now fairly numerous. These documents are all written in the Accadian of the First Dynasty and in the characteristic Old Babylonian cursive. The form of the contracts and the dating by annual events are unmistakably Old Babylonian. Yet the tablets from Ḫana are certainly somewhat later than the First Dynasty, since they give no hint of Babylonian supremacy, nor is the existence then of an autonomous state of Ḫana suggested by any of our extensive material from Babylonia. Moreover, Cossaeen names are common in the texts: e.g., the personal names *Kaštiliaš* and *Kudurru*(?), the divine names *Bugaš* and *Duzagaš*. One might possibly maintain that these Cossaeen names belong to the period of the First Dynasty, if it were not for the absence of such names in our Babylonian sources, though the latter are full of West Semitic and Ḫurrian personal names. The main Cossaeen immigration into Mesopotamia proper cannot, therefore, be dated before the end of the First Dynasty, though the beginnings of their infiltration may be traced back to the reign of 'Ammîšaduqa. On the other hand, the Ḫana documents are certainly older than the beginning of the Cossaeen Dynasty (cir. 1742 B.C.), at least for the most part. The former view that *Kaštiliaš* of Ḫana is identical with *Kaštiliaš* I of Babylonia may now be considered as out of the question, just as Ḫammurabiḫ of Ḫana has nothing to do with his Babylonian namesake. We may safely suppose that the Cossaeans settled in various parts of Mesopotamia before conquering Akkad. At all events, it is now certain that they occupied parts of Syria at an early date, since Cossaeen names appear in Northern Syria during the Late Bronze; e.g., Abirattaš of Barga,⁵² with the

⁵¹ *Syria*, vol. 5, pp. 265–93.

⁵² See now FRIEDRICH's translation of KBo III, 3 in *Der Alte Orient*, vol. 24, 3, pp. 19 ff.

same name as Abirattaš, fifth king of the Third Dynasty of Babylon. There is then little difficulty in supposing that the Cossaeans established themselves in Hana a century or more before they occupied Northern Babylonia. In general we find that their progress was from north to south, since they conquered Akkad, or Northern Babylonia, years before Southern Babylonia.

While the approximate date of the business documents from Hana is thus fixed between 1900 and 1700 B.C., the exact succession of kings is not certain, and the list is incomplete. DHORME and THUREAU-DANGIN have shown that their order is either Išarlim, Kaštiliaš, Hammurabiḥ, Šunuḫrammu, Ammiba'il or Išarlim, Kaštiliaš, Šunuḫrammu, Ammiba'il, Hammurabiḥ. In any case Hammurabiḥ comes after Kaštiliaš—a conclusive argument against the identification of either of these rulers with the Babylonian kings of the same name. If it were not that the names *Hammurabiḥ*, or rather '*Ammurawiḥ*,'⁵³ and '*mrpl*' are as different as "Sennacherib" and "Esarhaddon," one might be tempted to identify the king of Hana with the personage of Gen. XIV, but there is no possibility of this combination being correct. The only other monarchs of Hana in the second millennium known to us are apparently Ilu-iqīša and his son Tukultî-Mêr, both with good Babylonian names, which suggest that Hana had largely lost its specifically West-Semitic character during the intervening centuries. The exact date of Tukultî-Mêr is not certain; DHORME and THUREAU-DANGIN date him "several centuries before the ninth century." *Sngr* occurs as the name of a separate Mesopotamian state in the Egyptian texts of the fifteenth century B.C., but in the following period it became a Hittite dependency, under the name of Aštati, over which Subbiluliuma placed his son Biyassilis⁵⁴ as king.⁵⁵ Apparently, Subbiluliuma had conquered Aštati from Mitanni, which then must have previously put an end to the independence of the land. In the following period there is no room for the existence of a powerful state like that of Tukultî-Mêr, since we have full information regard-

⁵³ See n. 4 above.

⁵⁴ Note that all occurrences of *s* in the cuneiform spelling of Hittite names are transcribed *s*, since they were undoubtedly so pronounced. Cf. JEA 11, 20, n. 1; JSOR 8, 52, n. 4 and the references there cited.

⁵⁵ For Aštati and Aštata cf. the references collected by MAYER and GARSTANG, *Index of Hittite Names*, p. 8.

ing the wars and rivalries of Assyria and Babylonia, the former of which had fallen heir to Mitanni. We must, accordingly, place Tukultî-Mêr well before 1400 B.C., probably before 1500. The writer's former suggestion that it was Tukultî-Mêr who carried off to Hana the statues of Marduk and Šarpânîr, later recovered by Agum II of Babylon, who seems to have reigned about 1600, or a little later, is quite possible, though it cannot be more definitely established.⁵⁶ At all events, an *Amurru-âpil may be inserted tentatively between the group of kings with Old Babylonian affiliations and chiefly West-Semitic names, and the later one with Middle Babylonian associations and Babylonian names.

In the foregoing pages we have seen that the references in Gen. XIV to the kings of the East are historically probable, and that the kings themselves may be dated in the early part of the eighteenth century. The same approximate date is required by our new archaeological materials, assuming that the traditions concerning the fall of Sodom and Gomorrah are correctly associated with the events described in this chapter. We are, however, still far from establishing the historicity of Gen. XIV. We must take the chapter up from another angle, and consider its internal evidence. It is not our purpose here to furnish a detailed commentary on the chapter, or to take issue in detail with the treatment of MEINHOLD⁵⁷ and others. We shall first consider the data given by Gen. XIV, after which we may discuss its literary character and its ultimate provenance.

The present narrative makes a strange impression by placing the petty princes of Sodom, Gomorrah, &c., on an apparent level with the kings of the East. This shows at least that the story had passed through a long history before reaching its present form, and suggests that the names of the Palestinian towns have owed their preservation mainly to the fame of the cataclysm which later overwhelmed them. The names of the princes are in part very reasonable; *Šin-ab* means "The Moon is Father," with the correct form of the sibilant,⁵⁸ while *Šem-'br*, "Shem is Mighty," is a name of a type which seems to have been common in the Middle Bronze

⁵⁶ JPOS 1, 73f.; cf. AJSL 40, 129f.

⁵⁷ *I Mose 14, eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung, Beihefte zur ZATW*, 22 (1911).

⁵⁸ JPOS 1, 69, n. 4.

Age.⁵⁹ The names *Bera'* and *Birša'*, belonging to the princes of Sodom and Gomorrah, are very peculiar, being otherwise unparalleled, and seeming to mean "With Evil," "With Wickedness." They are, therefore, either imaginary or slightly altered, but since they are too strange to be sheer inventions we may safely consider them as intentional alterations. The names of Abraham's allies, *Mamrê*, *Eškôl* and *'Aner*, are clearly folkloristic, since "Fat Place" and "Cluster of Grapes" are not personal names, quite aside from the fact that they are well-known place-names of the Hebron district. The number 318 is also folkloristic, as recognized by all.

The account of Chedorlaomer's campaign in Transjordan is extremely interesting, but somewhat suspicious. The first people attacked are the Rephaim in 'Aštarôt and Qarnaim,⁶⁰ modern Tell 'Aštarah and Šeiḥ Sa'd,⁶¹ in the southwestern Ḥaurân, only three miles apart. HROZNÝ's soundings in Šeiḥ Sa'd and the writer's examination of the pottery from both sites have proved that they were in existence before 2000 B.C., and thus may well have been attacked by Chedorlaomer. The Rephaim, however, are a folkloristic element, since their very name means simply "shades of the dead," as well-known. KARGE has proved that the cairns and dolmens of Transjordan were ascribed by the Israelites to the Rephaim, just as they are connected by the Arabs with the Benī Isrā'in (Israelites) or the 'Amâliqah (Amalekites).⁶² It was natural enough to suppose that the Jōlân and Ḥaurân had been occupied by Rephaim, since both contain innumerable cairns and dolmens, massive memorials of a distant neolithic age. After his defeat of the Rephaim, the Elamite invader attacked the Zuzim in Ham, probably the *Hm* of the Tuthmosis List (cir. 1479 B.C.), no. 118, and perhaps the modern Ham, in eastern Gilead, south of Irbid. The less said

⁵⁹ Several of the Byblian kings of the Twelfth Dynasty, whose names are found transcribed into hieroglyphics, bear names containing the element *šm*; e.g., 'Ib-*šm*, 'Ip-*šm*-ib. Note that these names prove the existence of the Canaanite pronunciation of the sibilants at Byblos during the Twelfth Dynasty; cf. note 49, above.

⁶⁰ We should insert *we* between the two names, as now generally recognized. For the hyphenization we probably have to thank the fact that the towns were only an hour's walk apart, and the familiarity of the cult of the horned 'Aštart.

⁶¹ The question of the identifications of these sites is discussed in the *Bulletin*, no. 19; a fuller treatment will appear elsewhere.

⁶² See KARGE, *Rephaim*.

about the Zuzim and their relation to the Zamzummin of pre-historic Ammon the better, since we really have no evidence whatever with regard to these mysterious races.⁶³ Next Chedorlaomer came to the land of the Emim, said by the Deuteronomic source to have preceded the Moabites in their land. They are here connected with Šawêh and Qiryataim, as we should read instead of Šawêh-Qiryataim of the present text, just as in the case of 'Aštārôt and Qarnaim above. Šawêh is probably not the 'Ēn-šw of the Tuthmosis List, no. 5, but the names are evidently the same. Qiryataim is, of course, the well-known Moabite place of the name, between Mâdebâ and Dibân.

The further details of Chedorlaomer's campaign are exceedingly improbable, since they would carry the eastern host into Sinai,⁶⁴ bringing them back via Kadesh-barnea to Hazezon-tamar, identified elsewhere with Engedi, though a connection with Tamar-Thamara is much more likely.⁶⁵ The battle with the princes of Sodom and Gomorrah, &c., does not take place until after this circuitous diversion. After the victory in the Valley of Siddim, Chedorlaomer is overtaken at Dan and completely routed by Abraham and his allies. There is no historical difficulty in admitting a surprise defeat, since the eastern host presumably did not number over a few thousand fighting men, and the mention of the late name "Dan" instead of the older Laish is not a serious point, since a gloss may have replaced the original.

Melchizedek, king of Salem, is unquestionably to be connected with Jerusalem. There is another Salem, modern Sâlim, east of Nâblus, but while the site is ancient, there never was a fortified city there, as shown by the lack of a *tell*. This is the Salem of Gen. 33¹⁸, Jer. 41⁵ (6) and Judith 4⁴, as well as of John 3²³. Another town of a similar name (the Salumias of the *Onomasticon*) was located south of Bethshan, but the probable site is totally wanting in the requisite mound. Now that the excavations of DUNCAN and MACALISTER, confirming the previous results of PARKER

⁶³ We should not, however, depreciate the value of the Deuteronomic information unduly; cf. JPOS 1, 187ff., where the Caphtorim are discussed.

⁶⁴ On the other hand, we must remember that Sinai was never so actively exploited for minerals as in the Twelfth Dynasty, so that an Elamite expedition to the turquoise mines may not be so unlikely as it appears. It is still possible that Sinai is included under the general term Magan in early Babylonian sources.

⁶⁵ For the approximate site of Tamar cf. JPOS 4, 153, n. 1.

and VINCENT, have proved that Jerusalem was founded well back in the aeneolithic, enjoying an almost, if not quite continuous history ever since, there is no further obstacle to the identification of Salem with Jerusalem. In the Middle Bronze there were very few fortified towns in the hill-country, and Jerusalem, situated as it was in an extraordinarily favorable position above a good spring, with natural roads running north-south along the watershed and east-west from the Jordan fords at Jericho, must have been a relatively important place. So far as the name is concerned, the first element, *yerû-*, probably meant "settlement," or the like, and could be kept or dropped like the parallel *bêt*, "house," or *qiryat*, "town." The Melchizedek episode is, of course, extraordinary, and the tithe motive has been dwelt on with obvious pleasure by the writer of Gen. XIV, but its sheer unusualness suggests that there was some nucleus of truth.

Genesis XIV does not belong to any of the documents, a fact which has led most scholars to refer its composition to the post-exilic period. The latest attempt of BENZINGER to divide it between J and E follows entirely superficial principles, and does not touch on the stylistic difficulties.⁶⁶ The strange words and expressions which were formerly regarded as indications of very late origin now appear to prove the reverse, and must be considered rather as archaic than as archaistic. Among them may be counted *hanîk*, "armed retainer," or the like, which corresponds to the *hanuku* of the Taanach tablets and the *hanku* of the Accadian vocabularies from Boghaz-köi; יִדֶּק (*as we should read with most recent writers*), "and he levied" (Accad. *daqu*). In view of these cases there is no further difficulty in the way of regarding *el 'elyôn*, "most high God," as an archaism, especially since *'elyôn* as a title of divinity also appears in Phoenician, in the same sense. We are now becoming accustomed to the high antiquity of the Byblian religious material preserved by Philo Byblius,⁶⁷ so that when we find him rendering Ἐλιοῦν by ὁ ὕψιστος, we may rest assured that the word is a very ancient appellation of deity in Canaanite.

⁶⁶ In the *Marti-Festschrift* (Beihefte zur ZATW, 41), pp. 21-27. BENZINGER's main criterion is the relation of the geographical and topographical material to the views of the Judaic and Ephraimite sources.

⁶⁷ Cf. JPOS 2, 191 ff.

Along with the archaic words are poetic passages, which make it almost certain that Gen. XIV is a prose abstract of a narrative poem, an "epic," employing this term as is the custom among students of ancient oriental literature. Thus in v. 10 the passages *we-'emeq haš-Šiddim be'erôt be'erôt hemar*, *we-han-niš'arim hérah nâsû* cannot conceal their poetic flavor; in prose Hebrew one did not write that way. Verses 18-24 can be written almost throughout in a perfectly satisfactory 3 + 3 meter, with the typical poetic repetitions and amplifications. The use of the shorter form *Šalem* for *Yerûšalem* may readily be explained on poetic grounds; the cumbrous *Yerûšalem* is regularly avoided in later Hebrew poetry, which prefers *Šiyôn*, or the like.

Having thus been able to postulate a poetic source for Gen. XIV, we are able to explain some of the apparent contradictions in the narrative, such as the mention of the death of the king of Sodom in v. 10, while in v. 17 he is still alive. If the chapter is an abstract of a long epic narrative such inconcinnities may be explained as due to undue abbreviation, which omitted, for instance, the account of the appearance on the scene of a new king of Sodom. This explanation naturally would not hold except where it may be demonstrated that there was a poetic source of a prose narrative.

How was our hypothetical poetic original preserved? This question is naturally not easy to answer, but a suggestion may be made. The true hero was originally not Abram, but Melchizedek, to whom Abram paid tribute. The late Jewish idea that Melchizedek was "without father or mother, without lineage, without having either beginning of days or end of life"⁶⁸ can hardly be based entirely upon the terse and unexplained appearance of Melchizedek in Gen. XIV, which furnishes no basis for such conceptions. Moreover, all scholars recognize that there is some connection between the glorification of Melchizedek at the time of Abraham and the exaltation of Jerusalem and its priesthood. The figure of Melchizedek is, therefore, characteristic of Jerusalemite legend, but cannot have been invented by the Jews, who would certainly have substituted Abraham himself. If, however, we go back to pre-Jewish times, we must go on to a still earlier period, since the petty princes of Jerusalem could not have played the part of

⁶⁸ Hebrews 7.

a Melchizedek during the centuries of Egyptian domination, or during the period of the Judges. We must, in fact, go back to the dark age before the Eighteenth Dynasty, when the various princely houses which we find still ruling under Egyptian control at the Amarna period were first established, perhaps under Hyksos suzerainty. It was probably then that the Jebusites received Jerusalem,⁶⁹ which their aristocracy then ruled for several centuries. The good Hebrew name of Melchizedek, like that of Adonizedek, offers no particular difficulty, since Melchizedek may have preceded the establishment of the Jebusites, or the name itself, which may have the meaning "Legitimate King,"⁷⁰ may be schematic, and may accordingly have been applied to a prince with a non-Semitic name—possibly even to the founder of the Jebusite line. The present writer is, however, inclined to leave all such questions *sub judice*, since we are obviously not able to go beyond speculation.

The supposition that such an epic was current in Jerusalem before the Jewish conquest, after which it was modified and judaized, offers no particular difficulty. There undoubtedly were many poetic compositions current in Palestine and Syria, some of which have found their way in much reduced form into the Hebrew religious literature. After the discovery of the *šar tamhari* epic, fragmentary as it is, we know more of the popularity and extraordinary vitality of the historical epic in the ancient Near East.⁷¹ It is, in fact, not impossible that the poem underlying Gen. XIV was an offshoot of the Sargon Romance, just as the Alexander Romance is practically the child of the Gilgames Epic.⁷² The names *Šarru-ken* and *Malki-šedeq* are synonymous, as has just

⁶⁹ Cf. JPOS 2, 127 ff.

⁷⁰ The name may be equivalent to *melek šedeq*, like Phoen. *ben šedeq*, "legitimate son." In this case the final *i* of *malki* is the so-called *hireq compaginis*, found quite often in biblical Hebrew and Phoenician. The name may also mean "The god Sedeq (= Phoen. Sydyk) is my king," a rendering which the parallel name *Adōni-šedeq* makes rather more probable. The same uncertainty in rendering is found in the name of Sargon, which may originally have been *Šarrum-ukin*, *Šarram-ukin*, or *Šarrum-kin (kēn)*, and have meant "The king has established, He has established the king (a king), The king is established," or "Legitimate King" (= *šarrum kēnum*). In this case the original form of the name is of little importance as compared to the interpretation later placed upon it, which seems to have been the last alternative given. Sargon III of Assyria certainly seems to have explained the name in this way.

⁷¹ Cf. JSOR 7, 1 ff., especially pp. 17 ff.

⁷² Cf. AJSL 35, 192.

been seen, and Sargon I certainly was considered later as incarnate, at least to a certain extent, in Sargon III (also in Sargon II?) just as Atrahasis, Elias and Melchizedek appeared again and again on earth in time of need.⁷³ Until we have more of the Sargon Romance we cannot say whether the parallelism runs farther. Nor can we say whether the catastrophe which overwhelmed the Cities of the Plain was described in our supposed Jebusite poem or not, though it seems highly improbable, *a priori*, that so extraordinary an event should have been overlooked. It is generally admitted that the present account of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is a Hebrew modification of a Moabite original, which described the beginnings of the Moabite people, substituting the Dead Sea Flood for the Noachian Deluge, at least to a certain extent.

It is vain to attempt a reconstruction of the original sequence of events, where Abram the Hebrew doubtless played a subordinate rôle. Yet it would be foolish to exclude the possibility that the Hebrews may have had a version of their own, which has been combined with the Jebusite story, perhaps rather violently. The poetic form underlying our present text may even be subsequent to the fusion of Hebrew and Jebusite elements. Our purpose here is not to decide insoluble questions, but rather to show how the historic nucleus of Gen. XIV may have come down to the seventh century B.C., when the chapter may have been included in JE. The apparent accuracy in the transmission of the proper names is no harder to explain than the persistence which proper names exhibit in epic sagas and verse generally, where metre and rhyme assist the memory to preserve names indefinitely. Probably, too, these names were taken down in writing long before the composition of our present text of Gen. XIV. As frequently, a bare prose skeleton, derived from an earlier form of the saga, may later have been clothed with flesh from a later recension of the same saga. It is, for example, quite conceivable that the essential matter of the saga was reduced to writing in the time of Solomon,⁷⁴ when there must have been much interest in comparing the historical

⁷³ Several years ago the writer prepared a paper on "Atrahasis, the Eternal Sage," but it has not yet been published. In this paper the interrelations of Atrahasis, Elias, Melchizedek, Sargon, Alexander and el-Hidr were discussed, with interesting results.

⁷⁴ Cf. BÖHL, ZATW 36, 73.

traditions of the Jebusite and Jewish elements of the population of Jerusalem. Of course, our entire chapter may have been written down in substantially its present form in Solomon's time, but this alternative possibility remains without significance for us, since the chapter was in any case not included in the standard accounts of Hebrew history until after the compilation of JE.

We may now gather up our threads and attempt to reconstruct the historical background of Gen. XIV. Approximately in the early eighteenth century B.C. Western Asia was invaded by the first of the hordes which overturned the civilization of the Early Bronze Age and plunged Mesopotamia and Syria into a chaotic obscurity from which they did not emerge for centuries. The extent of the catastrophe may best be appreciated by prolonged study of the mounds of Syria and northern Mesopotamia, fully two-thirds of which were abandoned after the Early Bronze Age and before the Late Bronze, i.e., between the latter part of the third millennium and the middle of the second. This is most evident in northern Syria and northwestern Mesopotamia on the one hand, and in the East Tigris country on the other. To judge from the writer's study of the mounds in the Eleutherus, Orontes, Quweiq, Balih and Upper Euphrates valleys, the region of Aram Naharaim must have been almost completely destitute of a sedentary population for many centuries, if not for nearly a thousand years, during almost the whole of the second millennium. In illustration of this phenomenon is the fact that the old place-names of the third millennium can rarely be identified, while new ones appear in the latter part of the second. Moreover, the place-names of the early first millennium, when our information becomes fuller, are very largely Aramaean tribal names, or are formed with the element *til* = *tell*, "mound," just as in the East Tigris country, where, as we have seen, the destruction of towns was equally thorough. Such names as *Til-Barsip* (Tell el-Aḥmar south of Carchemish), which replaces the early Sumerian *Barsip* of Gudea, and *Til-abné*, "Mound of Stones," like the common Arabic *Tell el-Ḥajar*, are characteristic of the new nomenclature in the West, while *Til-Ḥumba* (early Elamite *Hubbu* or *Hubba*) and *Til-ša-Zabdāni*, "Mound of Zabdān" (a common Aramaean personal name), are equally characteristic of the East.

The movements of the Manda and Hyksos hordes (see above for the question of their racial affiliations) naturally produced sympathetic activity on the part of the Aramaean tribes of the steppes of Mesopotamia and Syria, who were still more or less purely nomadic. At first we may safely suppose that the Semite nomads fled in terror before these wild horsemen from the East, just as the Germans first retreated before the Huns. Later, when the eastern barbarians had devastated the country, the Suṭūm or Ḥabirum, as the Aramaean nomads were called by the sedentary peoples of Mesopotamia, quite naturally availed themselves of the confusion to occupy the ruined districts themselves, when possible. Among the districts thus occupied was the region of the Balîḥ, where the writer's investigations have shown that there were no inhabited cities, except Ḥarrân and one or two others, during the millennium posterior to the end of the Early Bronze (beginning of second millennium). It cannot be accidental that the names of the Hebrew patriarchs carry us directly to the Balîḥ region, where the towns of Til-Naḥîri (= Naḥôr), Til-ša-Turâḥi (= Terah), Sarûg (= Šerûg) and Ḥarrân belong. The Hebrew tribes in this region may have migrated from the East Tigris country, since there is evidence that they were intimately associated for a long time with the Cossaeans,⁷⁵ while the name *Arpakšad* (Arphaxad) points to the land of Arrapḫa near modern Kerkûk, which bordered on Kaššu (the land of the Cossaeans).⁷⁶ We may perhaps suppose that they were driven westward by the irruption of the eastern hordes, and that they

⁷⁵ HALÉVY's old theory of a connection between the Ḥabiru and the Kaššu, because of the Cossaeen proper names found among the former, is beginning to be regarded more seriously. See now especially BÖHL, *Het tijdperk der aartsvaders*, pp. 20f., and JIRKU, *Die Wanderungen der Hebräer* (*Der Alte Orient*, vol. 24, 2), pp. 14ff. An additional argument may perhaps be derived from the fact that Tette (Tettis) the Hebrew and Abirattaš (with a Cossaeen name; see above) were rulers of neighboring North Syrian states in the fourteenth century B.C., since this is an indication that the Ḥabiru and Kaššu followed the same migratory course.

⁷⁶ The writer's old theory that *Arpakšad* is "Arrapḫa of the Hills" (JBL 37, 135 ff.), i.e., *Arpaḫ-šadê*, later given up (JBL 43, 388f.), may be correct, after all, since we have an exact parallel in the place-name *Tirqan-šadî*, "Tirqan of the Hills" (to be discussed in a forthcoming paper on "A Babylonian Geographical Treatise on Sargon of Akkad's Empire" in JAOS), in the region of the Central Zagros, near Arrapḫa. The parallel is so perfect that the name *Arpakšad* can hardly be explained otherwise, especially in view of the close connection existing at one time between the Hebrews and the Cossaeans, who inhabited the mountains just southeast of Arrapḫa.

settled in the region of the Ḥābūr and Balīḥ,⁷⁷ without, however, entirely giving up their nomadic way of life, just as the tribes of the 'Anezeh and Šammar, which occupy these valleys today, have continued their semi-nomadic life for many centuries without settling down definitely. It was not long, however, until the Hebrews of the Balīḥ were swept into the westward moving tide of migration, and certain of their clans moved on into Palestine, where we find Abram, or Abraham, at the time of Genesis XIV. Meanwhile the Elamites, who then possessed the best organized state in Western Asia, took advantage of the military resources offered by the wandering hordes of the Manda to establish an ephemeral power controlling Mesopotamia and Syria, as described in Genesis XIV. Some three generations later, about 1675 B.C., the Hyksos hordes conquered Egypt, with the assistance of the Hebrew tribe of the Benê Ya'qob, the biblical "House of Jacob."

Before concluding this paper we may consider the bearing of these results on the history of the patriarchal period. The writer formerly regarded Abram and Jacob as representing contemporary phases of Hebrew history; Abram was the chief of the Benê Ya'qob in the early 17th century B.C.⁷⁸ The principal reason for this view was that the 430 years of "oppression" were connected with the Hyksos era of Tanis, and the entrance of the Hebrews into Egypt under Jacob was associated with the Hyksos irruption into Egypt, supposed to have taken place not long before the migration of the Benê Ya'qob. But since the period of Gen. XIV seemed also to be the early 17th century, we were naturally forced to make Abram and Jacob contemporary. The only serious objection to the hypothesis was that Hebrew tradition consistently makes the three patriarchs, Abram, Isaac and Jacob, represent successive generations. With our present chronology, which carries Gen. XIV back over a century, we have just time for three respectable generations between the epoch of Abram and the beginning of the Tanite era, which we still regard as being the source of the Hebrew figure for the length of the oppression. It must be emphasized that this coincidence was not planned, but came to our attention after we had been forced by the pressure of historical and archaeological

⁷⁷ See JBL 43, 385 ff., and BÖHL, *Het tijdperk der aartsvaders*, p. 19.

⁷⁸ JPOS 1, 65, &c.

facts to place the events described in Gen. XIV about 1800 B.C., or a little later.

The coincidence will doubtless be regarded as too good to be true, but it may not be easy to explain away. We have been accustomed to treat the narratives of the Patriarchal Age with altogether too much disdain. Little by little, however, we are learning that history and folklore have the most amazing way of adjusting themselves to one another, and that most saga is composed of historical episodes clad in motives of folkloristic origin. For that matter, most actual happenings of sufficiently unusual character to form the soil for growth of saga are invested with an aura of remarkable coincidence or intricate plot which inevitably attracts wandering folklore motives. Some day, we venture to say, the majority of Old Testament scholars will hold views of Hebrew history which would now seem very uncritical. On closer study, of course, the results of literary and historical criticism, of folklore analysis and perhaps even of psycho-analysis will be evident at every step. Though dead, the spirit of HUGO WINCKLER lives after him, and will continue to exercise an increasing influence upon students of the ancient East.⁷⁹ It is only as spiritual disciples of his that we can succeed in our quest.

⁷⁹ Cf. JBL 37, 112 ff.; JPOS 1, 51. Admiration for the epoch-making advance in our view-point marked by WINCKLER's brilliant work does not, of course, entail acceptance of all his theories of detail, such as his Muşri and Yaudi hypotheses, or his extreme pan-babylonian conclusions.

ÜBER DAS III. KAPITEL DES EZRABUCHES

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So viel an den einzelnen Kapiteln von Ezr-Neh versucht worden ist, Kap. III des Ezrabuches ist dabei verhältnismäßig wenig in Mitleidenschaft gezogen worden. Was darin berichtet wird, gilt in der Regel als eine Reihe von Begebnissen, welche im wesentlichen zusammengehören und geschichtlich dorthin zu verlegen sind, wo sie in der gegenwärtigen Textfolge stehen. Erst in den letzten Jahren ist darangegangen worden, ohne diese beiden Voraussetzungen, zusammengehörig und hiehergehörig, mit dem Texte des Kapitels zurechtzukommen. L. W. BATTEN hat in seinem gründlichen Kommentar¹ diesen Versuch gewagt, aber sofort bestimmten Widerspruch erfahren. Mit Recht hat J. A. BEWER² getadelt, daß BATTEN bei der Wiederherstellung des Textes zu sehr von 3 Ezr (= Ezra A der Septuaginta) ausgegangen ist, während doch so- undsooft diese Form der Überlieferung Abhängigkeit vom masoretischen Text verrät. J. TOUZARD hat sich in einem umfangreichen Artikel³ mit den neuen Auffassungen BATTENS auseinandergesetzt und ihnen in den wesentlichen Punkten, besonders auch in der Erklärung von Ezr 3, widersprochen. Für BEWER war BATTENS Kommentar der Anlaß, den Text des Ezrabuches noch einmal durchzuarbeiten⁴ und so die Grundlage zu schaffen, von der aus die Vorgänge der nachexilischen Geschichte richtig eingereiht und in einen verständlichen Zusammenhang gebracht werden könnten.

Ohne mich in allen Einzelheiten auf die Seite BATTENS stellen zu wollen, möchte ich doch hervorheben, daß einzelne seiner Er-

¹ BATTEN, L. W., A critical and exegetical commentary on the books of Ezra and Nehemiah (The international critical commentary), Edinburgh 1913.

² BEWER, J. A., Ezra-Nehemiah (The American Journal of Theology XIX [1915] 108—116).

³ TOUZARD, J., Les Juifs au temps de la période persane à l'occasion d'un ouvrage nouveau (Revue biblique, Nouv. Sér. XII [1915] 59—133).

⁴ BEWER, J. A., Der Text des Buches Ezra. Beiträge zu seiner Wiederherstellung, Göttingen, 1922.

gebnisse zu Ezr 3 mich in der Anschauung bestärkten, hier habe die landläufige Exegese noch nicht das letzte Wort gesprochen; insbesondere schien mir BATTEN darin durchaus im Rechte, daß am Schluß dieses Kapitels nicht die Grundlegung des Tempels in Frage kommen kann. Wenn ich aber für sachliche Ergebnisse aus der Arbeit BATTENS eintreten zu sollen glaube, so bedeutet das keine Abkehr von der Methode seiner beiden erwähnten Kritiker. Im Gegenteil möchte ich ausdrücklich das Ergebnis der BEWERSCHEN Untersuchungen als richtig befinden, wornach „der hebräische textus receptus als korrekt anerkannt und festgestellt wird“.⁵ Damit ist nicht gemeint, daß der massoretische Text nicht verdorben sei, sondern es will nichts anderes gesagt sein, als daß der überlieferte hebräische Text meist im Rechte ist, wenn die Übersetzungen von seinem hinreichend klar erkennbaren Inhalt sachlich abweichen. Hiermit läßt sich durchaus in Einklang bringen, wenn TOUZARD⁶ warnt, sich ohne Vorbehalt an den kanonischen Ezra anzuschließen, wenn man die ersten Zeiten der jüdischen Restauration rekonstruieren möchte. Der Text des Alten Testaments, besonders seiner geschichtlichen Bücher vom Pentateuch angefangen bis herab zu unserem Ezra-Nehemia-Buche, liegt in einem Zustande vor uns, für dessen Verständnis die bisherige Exegese den Schlüssel zwar mit Mühe gesucht, aber noch keineswegs gefunden hat. „Jede einzelne Tatsache“, sagt TOUZARD, „muß man sozusagen ins Auge fassen“, um die wirklichen Linien des Geschichtsverlaufes festzustellen. Jede einzelne Tatsache für sich ins Auge fassen, verlangt folgerichtig, keine zeitliche und logische Verbindung herzustellen zwischen geschichtlichen Tatsachen, welche bloß im Texte örtlich beisammen stehen, ohne daß der Text selbst eine bestimmte Beziehung verrät, heißt weiterhin, Hinweisen auf Zusammenhänge im Texte selbst dann Beachtung zu schenken, wenn sie in keiner der bisher aufgestellten Hypothesen über die Geschichte nach dem babylonischen Exil eine Stütze finden sollte. Wer die tiefgreifenden Unterschiede und Gegensätze im Auf- und Ausbau dieser Hypothesen unbefangen auf sich wirken läßt, wird denjenigen kaum der Willkür zu zeihen wagen, der voraussetzt, in der Feststellung der Geschichte nach dem Exil sei nicht bloß etwas, nicht bloß noch vieles, sondern fast noch alles zu tun.

⁵ Vgl. Der Text des Buches Ezra 7.

⁶ a. a. O. 83.

1. Ezr 3, 1 führt uns mit dem 7. Monat gleichsam „in medias res“ (BATTEN 103), aber nur scheinbar; denn dieser Vers gehört zu Ezr 2 = Neh 7, also zur Liste der mit Zerubabel Heimgekehrten. Dahin verweist der lokale Zusammenhang. Dadurch erklärt sich die Volksversammlung in Jerusalem; denn die Liste der Heimgekehrten schließt mit der Angabe, daß sie sich in den Städten zerstreut niederließen (Ezr 2, 70 = Neh 7, 73). Die Angabe „es nahte der 7. Monat“ setzt nicht bloß irgendeine Jahreszahl voraus,⁷ sondern eine Zeitangabe innerhalb eines Jahres, an die sich der 7. Monat anfügen kann. Eine solche können wir in Ezr 1, 1 nicht anerkennen, wohl aber ist diese gleiche Monatsangabe im geforderten chronologischen Aufriß Neh 7, 72. Hier geht voraus der Monat Nisan des 20. Jahres des Artaxerxes (Neh 2, 1: Nehemias erbittet und erhält die Erlaubnis zur Rückkehr), der 25. Elul (= 6. Monat; Neh 6, 15: Vollendung des Mauerbaues), und es folgt der 1. Tag des 7. Monats (Neh 8, 2: Ezra beginnt das Gesetz vorzulesen). Damit ist nicht nur das Datum Ezr 3, 1 in einen passenden Rahmen gestellt, sondern es erhält die Volksversammlung in Jerusalem im gleichen Vers erst ihren Zweck: das Volk findet sich zusammen in Jerusalem, um das Gesetz zu vernehmen und sich darauf zu verpflichten.⁸

2. Nach BATTEN (107) gehen nunmehr die Texte von Ezr und Neh je ihren eigenen Weg; Ezr erzähle vom Tempelbau, Neh von der Lesung des Gesetzes. Dazu stimmt nicht, daß zunächst bloß vom Altarbau die Rede ist; der Tempelbau schließt sich keineswegs glatt an den Anfang des Kapitels an. Nicht einmal der Altarbau kann sich unmittelbar anreihen. Denn es kann die Volksversammlung doch nicht zu dem Zwecke einberufen sein, daß sich daraus Josue und Zerubabel erhoben und sich an die Spitze ihrer Familien stellten, um den Altar zu bauen (Ezr 3, 2). Ezr 3, 2 kann nicht eine unmittelbare Fortsetzung von Ezr 3, 1 darstellen. Und doch knüpfen drei Punkte Ezr 3, 2—6 mit 3, 1 sachlich zusammen. Für den Altarbau wird auf „das Gesetz des Moses, des

⁷ Mit dem „2. Jahre der Ankunft beim Hause Gottes“ (Ezr 3, 8) kann unsere ergänzungsbedürftige Monatsangabe nicht zusammengekommen werden, weil eine Jahresangabe voraus erforderlich ist, weil dort der 2. Monat erwähnt ist und weil der folgende Kontext mehr als einmal unterbrochen ist, wie sich zeigen wird. Gegen TOUZARD, a. a. O. 77.

⁸ Es soll nicht unerwähnt bleiben, daß mit Neh 7, 72 statt der Monatsnamen die Zählung der Monate eintritt.

Mannes Gottes“ verwiesen (Ezr 3, 2); wie die Maßnahmen, welche nach Neh 8ff. getroffen wurden, erscheint damit auch der Altarbau als Ausführung einer Forderung, die das vorgelesene Gesetz in Erinnerung brachte; vorgelesen wurde das Gesetz in der Volksversammlung. Ezr 3, 4 wird außerdem das tägliche Opfer, wofür die Wiedererrichtung des Altares dienen sollte, mit der Feier des Laubhüttenfestes zusammen genannt, und letzteres wurde nach Neh 8, 14ff. gefeiert auf Grund dessen, das man darüber bei der Lesung des Gesetzes vernahm. Das verstärkt den Eindruck, daß die Angabe „mit im Gesetze des Moses geschrieben stand“ (Ezr 3, 2) mehr bedeuten will, als daß diese Vornahme tatsächlich mit dem Gesetze in Übereinstimmung stand; zu ihrem vollen Rechte kommt diese Phrase erst dann, wenn wir darin eingeschlossen finden: in der Volksversammlung gegen Beginn des 7. Monats wurde das Gesetz vorgelesen, und dadurch wurde der Wiederaufbau des Altares veranlaßt, um auf ihm das tägliche Opfer darzubringen. Zum dritten fügt sich das Datum Ezr 3, 6 („vom ersten Tage im 7. Monat begann man Jahwe Brandopfer darzubringen“) so gut an die Zeit der einberufenen Volksversammlung von Ezr 3, 1 („da nahte sich der 7. Monat“) an, daß man diesen Zusammenhang nicht unbeachtet lassen darf. Eine Hypothese über die nachexilische Geschichte, welche den erwähnten Anzeichen gerecht werden will, muß den Altarbau unterbringen als eine Maßnahme, welche durch die Lesung des Gesetzes vor der Volksversammlung von Neh 8ff. veranlaßt wurde. Läßt sich die Verbindung mit der Zeit des Josue und Zerubabel damit nicht zusammenreimen, dann muß der Verweis auf das Zeitalter dieser beiden Männer zurückstehen gegenüber dem Gewicht der erwähnten Anzeichen. Das ist um so mehr zu betonen, als an allen anderen Stellen, wo beide Männer zusammen genannt werden, die umgekehrte Reihenfolge eingehalten wird (Agg 1, 1 12 14; 2, 2 4, Ezr 2, 2; 3, 8; 4, 3; 5, 2, Neh 7, 7; 12, 1). Außerdem stehen sie in einem Versstück, das eine handgreifliche Dublette darstellt (Ezr 3, 2 || 3, 3^a).⁹ Damit entfielen auch

⁹ Sonstige Anzeichen, daß der Text Ezr 3, 2—6 nicht aus einem Guß ist, sind vorhanden, sollen aber nicht behandelt werden, weil sie die Hauptfrage nicht beeinflussen. Ezr 3, 3^b redet offenbar von Anfeindungen beim Altarbau. Neben dem beginnenden täglichen Opfer scheinen einmalige Einweihungsoffer erwähnt zu sein (Ezr 3, 3^b). Erst an diese Einweihungsoffer schlossen sich das tägliche Opfer (ebenfalls zweimal, 3, 3 und 3, 5, genannt) und der übrige Opferkult (3, 5) an.

eine Frage, die man sich selten gestellt hat, keinesfalls aber vollbefriedigend beantworten konnte: Warum sollten die Juden nach der Rückkehr zuerst einen Einrichtungsgegenstand des Tempels gebaut haben, ehe sie das Hauptgebäude, den Tempel selbst, in Angriff nahmen?¹⁰

3. Ist nicht Ezr 3, 6^b: „und der Tempel Jahwes war nicht gebaut „(oder grundgelegt)“ eine Darstellung des Zustandes, der in der Zeit der Vorgänge von Ezr 3, 1—6^a herrschte? Das ist nicht unmöglich; aber irgendein Anzeichen für einen solchen Zusammenhang ist nicht vorhanden, wenn man nicht mit der bloßen örtlichen Textverbindung zufrieden ist. Es ist diesem Satze ebenso Genüge geschehen mit der Erklärung: er steht bloß nach vorn in Beziehung; denn es folgt Ezr 3, 7 eine Angabe, welche nur als Vorbereitung zum Tempelbau verstanden werden kann, eine vereinzelte, sehr entfernte vorbereitende Maßnahme zum Tempelbau, die keineswegs einen geschlossenen, ununterbrochenen Bericht über den Verlauf des großen Unternehmens einleitet. Wie der Faden des Zusammenhanges nach vorn abgerissen ist, so kann er es auch nach rückwärts hin sein. Kurz für eine sichere Verknüpfung von Ezr 3, 6^b mit V. 1—6^a reicht bei dem fragmentarischen Zustand von Ezr 3 der bloße örtliche Zusammenhang nicht hin. Man dürfte also unbedenklich den Altarbau in die Zeit von Neh 8 ff. datieren, selbst wenn man die Bauvorbereitung von Ezr 3, 7 in die Regierungszeit des Kyros verlegen zu müssen glaubte. Gefordert ist letzteres durch die Angabe „entsprechend der Erlaubnis, welche Kyros, der König Persiens, ihnen gegeben hatte“ (Ezr 3, 7^b) nicht. Auch noch viel später, zur Zeit des Darius, berief man sich auf die Erlaubnis des Kyros zum Tempelbau, um ähnliche vorbereitende Schritte wie hier zu begründen (Ezr 6, 4 f.).

4. Ezr 3, 8—9 geben keinen verständlichen Zusammenhang, wenn man die Verse nicht von Grund aus umdichtet. Das tut BATTEN (117). Sein Kritiker BEWER (41 ff.) baut die Konstruktion

¹⁰ E. SCHRADER meinte allerdings, die Erbauung des Altares vor dem Tempel sei nicht nur an sich höchst wahrscheinlich, sondern nach Agg 2, 14 als ganz sicher anzunehmen (vgl. Die Dauer des zweiten Tempelbaues, in Theol. Studien u. Kritiken 1867, 460 ff.). Aber Agg 2, 14 nennt A. VAN HOONACKER „une vague allusion“ (vgl. Les Douze Petits Prophètes, Paris 1908, 544). An die Stelle eines „höchst wahrscheinlich“ möchte viel richtiger ein „nicht unmöglich“ treten. = Sam 24, 25, worauf BATTEN (108) verweist, fällt doch zu nahe an die Zeit, in der man überhaupt einen Altar errichtete, wenn und wo man ein Opfer darbringen wollte.

BATTENS wieder ab, und mit Recht. Hier wird man sich mit den Textfragmenten, wie sie der massoretische Text erhalten hat, begnügen müssen, und ohne Änderung und Auffüllung herausholen, was daraus zu gewinnen ist. Das Datum „im 2. Jahre, nachdem sie zum Hause Gottes nach Jerusalem gekommen waren, im 2. Monat“ erinnert in seinem „terminus a quo“ (Kommen zum Hause Gottes) an Ezr 2, 68. Wie dort spielen auch hier Zerubabel und Josue eine Rolle. Dort ist von einem Opfer für den Tempel die Rede. Hier fehlt die Angabe, was denn eigentlich begonnen worden ist. BATTEN und BEWER stimmen darin überein, daß V. 8^a jedenfalls nicht mit V. 8^b zusammenzunehmen ist. Wenn BEWER (42) vermutet, daß vom Beginn des Tempelbaues die Rede gewesen sei, so ist das begreiflich. Besser ist es, auf irgendwelchen Zusatz zu verzichten. Wir wissen nicht, ob ein Moment vom Tempelbau berichtet werden wollte, oder vielleicht auch irgendeine Maßnahme, die den Bestand des Tempels voraussetzt. Jedenfalls darf V. 8^b nicht als glatte Fortsetzung von V. 8^a aufgefaßt werden;¹¹ denn in diesem Falle würden die Leviten einerseits Subjekt, andererseits Objekt der gleichen Handlung sein. Ziemlich sicher scheint V. 8^b einen Vorgang zu berichten, der am besten sich begreift als eine Anordnung für den Dienst am gebauten Tempel. מלאכה bedeutet hier, wie Neh 10, 34, den kultischen Dienst am bestehenden Gotteshause, und gerade nur für solche kultischen Dienste ist im Gesetze ein bestimmtes Alter der Leviten vorgesehen wie auch hier. Wer Bauaufsicht unter מלאכה verstehen wollte, würde diese Altersgrenze unverständlich machen. V. 9 beschäftigt sich mit einer Aufsicht, bzw. Oberaufsicht, sei es über die Leviten und ihre kultischen Pflichten, sei es auch über Bauarbeiten am Tempel. Letzteres liegt nicht so nahe. Ezr 3, 8—9 ist schwerlich klarer zu interpretieren. Will man über die angeführten allgemeinen Gedanken hinausgelangen, so fühlt man die Unzulänglichkeit des vorliegenden Materials, und aus anderen Stellen Klarheit für unsere beiden Verse zu erholen, dazu fehlt es an einer festen Grundlage in der nachexilischen Geschichte.

5. Viel besser steht es mit dem Schlußabschnitt von Ezr 3, mit den Versen 10—12. Es geschah nicht ohne Grund, daß unmittelbar vorher V. 8^b f. die Ordnung des kultischen Dienstes berichtet

¹¹ So BERTHOLET in KAUTZSCH, Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments, H⁴, Tübingen 1922, 511.

wurde; denn nach V. 10ff. hatten die Priester und Leviten Gelegenheit, in einem Dankgottesdienst ihre Obliegenheiten auszuüben.¹² Daß ein Lob- und Dankgottesdienst Inhalt des Folgenden ist, wird von keiner Seite bestritten. Wofür sollte nun Gott Dank abgestattet und Lob gesungen werden? Es ist begreiflich, daß man in erster Linie an eine Feier bei Gelegenheit der Grundsteinlegung dachte. Voraus gehen Maßnahmen, die zum Teil wirklich Vorbereitungen für den Tempelbau sind (V. 7), zum Teil so verstanden wurden (V. 8f.). Hernach, Ezr 4, 1ff., wird von Störungen berichtet, welche während des Tempelbaues eintraten und seine Vollendung hinderten. Die Festlichkeit wurde gefeiert bei dem יסד des Tempels (vgl. V. 10 11 12), und dieses Wort verstand man seit jeher und versteht es auch heute noch vom Legen des Grundsteines. Nur eines schien dagegen zu sprechen: wie konnten die alten Leute schon bei der Grundsteinlegung weinen über die Geringwertigkeit des neuen Tempels, wenn erst der Grundstein gelegt war? BATTEN (122) hat noch auf einen Einwand gegen die herkömmliche Auffassung hingewiesen: die Juden seien nicht gewohnt gewesen, den Beginn eines Bauunternehmens zu feiern, sondern seinen Abschluß. So richtig dies scheinen mag, wenn man die tatsächlich auf uns gekommenen Berichte ausschlaggebend sein läßt, so wenig ist es ausgeschlossen, daß auch in alter Zeit wie in der Gegenwart schon die Grundsteinlegung gefeiert wurde, und auch nach BATTEN würde der massoretische Text ohne Änderung der Lesart¹³ von der Grundsteinlegung verstanden werden müssen. Trotz dieser Korrektur des Textes scheut er sich, die volle Konsequenz aus der richtigen Einsicht zu ziehen. Obwohl er erkennt, daß ein Vergleich des neuen Tempels mit dem alten nicht möglich ist im Augenblick der Grundsteinlegung, nimmt er nur an, daß der Bau schon ziemlich fortgeschritten sein muß, daß die Grundlegung schon eine geraume Zeit zurückliege (118 122). Freilich in der ursprünglichen Form enthielt auch nach BATTEN (121 126) V. 10^b—13 klipp und klar einen Bericht über die Einweihung des vollendeten Tempels. Folgende Erwägungen aber führen zur Erkenntnis, daß auch der gegenwärtige Text nichts anderes berichten will, als das abschließende Tempelweihe-

¹² Diese sachliche Berührung unterstützt die Deutung, welche Ezr 3, 8^b gegeben wurde.

¹³ Er ersetzt das überlieferte הוּסַד in V. 11 durch הָקִים (124).

fest. In Ezr 3 sind verschiedene Vorgänge aneinandergereiht, ohne daß sich erkennen ließe, daß der Kompilator einen Ausgleich und eine glatte Aufeinanderfolge angestrebt hätte; also ist auch nicht anzunehmen, daß er etwa Ezr 3, 10^b—13 mit den nachfolgenden Störungen vor vollendetem Tempelbau hätte in Einklang bringen wollen; d. h. V. 10^b—13 werden im wesentlichen ursprünglich sein, wenigstens nicht nach einer bestimmten Richtung überarbeitet sein. Es mag zugestanden werden, daß grammatische Bedenken erhoben werden können gegen das gegenwärtige וְהָרִבִּית בְּעֵינֵיהֶם (V. 12). Aber der Gedanke, der ausgesprochen werden wollte, ist durch die ganze Sachlage so eindeutig bestimmt und durch nicht mißverständliche Textbestandteile so klar erkennbar, daß dagegen eine nicht belegbare grammatische Ausdrucksweise nicht geltend gemacht werden darf,¹⁴ und wenn das Wort יִסַּד in den gebräuchlichen Lexicis bloß im Sinne von „grundlegen“ bekannt ist, so fordert der Sinn von Ezr 3, 12, daß יִסַּד eine viel weitere Bedeutung hat, daß darunter auch der Abschluß eines Baues verstanden werden kann. Der Inhalt von Ezr 3, 12 kann nach Sachlage und Text kein anderer sein als der: es gab alte Leute „welche das frühere Haus in seinem Bestande (בִּיְסָדוֹ) gesehen hatten“, und diese „brachen in lautes Weinen aus“, als sie „dieses Haus“ (זֶה הַבַּיִת), also den jetzt vollendeten neuen Tempel der nachexilischen Zeit, „mit denselben Augen“ (בְּעֵינֵיהֶם) sahen. יִסַּד, welches hier in seiner Bedeutung nicht auf „grundlegen“ eingeengt werden darf, muß gleichfalls auf die Vollendung der Bauarbeiten bezogen werden Ezr 3, 11, wo die Festfeier naturgemäß als Tempelweihfest verstanden wird so gut wie Ezr 6, 15 ff.¹⁵ Da das Material, womit das יִסַּד des Tempels nach 3 Reg 5, 31 geschah, als „gewaltige Steine“ und „kostbare Steine“ bezeichnet wird, kann darunter nicht bloß eine Grundlegung verstanden werden (gegen BATTEN 119). Auch das, was 3 Reg 7, 10 als מִן־הַסֵּלֶסֶל bezeichnet, scheint nach dem Zusammenhang auf eine Bauhöhe von unten bis zu den Kragsteinen (V. 9) und auf den ganzen Mauerdurchschnitt mit den Quadersteinen, den aufliegenden kostbaren Steinen zusamt dem Überzug mit Zedernholz ausgedehnt werden zu müssen. Auch das יִסַּד, welches

¹⁴ Die Grammatik von GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH, 28. Aufl., § 126 y und aa, erklärt die Ausdrucksweise וְהָרִבִּית זֶה הַבַּיִת für zulässig.

¹⁵ Nicht umsonst findet sich auch bei diesem Bericht (V. 18) die Aufstellung der Priester und Leviten wie Ezr 3, 8^b.

soundsooft dem Schöpfer des Weltalls in bezug auf die Erde zugeschrieben wird (vgl. Is 51, 16, Job 38, 4), kann doch nicht ausschließlich nur einen Beginn der Erschaffung der Erde bedeuten wollen, sondern wird die vollendete Schöpfung meinen, wie es tatsächlich Ps 89, 12 Himmel und Erde, das Weltall und, was es erfüllt (מְלֵאָה), zum Objekt hat. Der Zwang, eine derartige erweiterte Bedeutung für יָסַד zu wählen, ist bei Ezr 3, 11 f. nicht geringer als die Notwendigkeit, der KAUTZSCH in seiner 4. Auflage der Übersetzung des Alten Testaments Rechnung trug, als er 2 Chron 24, 27 יָסַד mit „Bauarbeit“ übersetzte. Dieses יָסַד faßt nämlich eine Reihe von Arbeiten am Tempel zusammen, die 2 Chron 24, 4 5 7 12 13 im einzelnen angegeben sind und unmöglich mit „grundlegen“ erschöpft sein können. KAUTZSCH bezeichnet seine Übersetzung „Bauarbeit“ für יָסַד als „frei“. Dann gesteht er eine Unzulänglichkeit seiner Arbeit zu. Richtiger hätte er sich gefragt, ob die Bedeutung „grundlegen“ alles das enthält, was in יָסַד ausgesagt sein kann. Die Belege, welche oben wieder gegeben worden sind, beweisen, daß יָסַד weiter ist als „grundlegen“, und wenn überhaupt irgendwo, dann ist diese weitere Bedeutung, welche auch eine Bauvollendung in sich schließen kann, Ezr 3, 11 f. zu wählen. Uralte Zeugen bestätigen die Annahme, daß יָסַד an diesen Stellen im Sinne der Vollendung des Tempelbaues zu verstehen ist. Mit Recht nahm BATTEN (124) an, daß 3 Ezr 5, 60 das יָסַד wie in anderen Fällen im Sinne von בָּנָה verstanden habe.¹⁶ Flavius Josephus (Ant. XI 80 [Niese]) übersetzt Ezr 3, 10 mit ἀπαρτισθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, faßt also ebenfalls יָסַד als „vollenden“. Alle diese Momente zugunsten eines fertigen Tempelbaues in Ezr 3, 10^b—13 überbietet an Bestimmtheit noch Agg 2, 3 ff. Der Prophet zeichnet 2, 3 die gleiche Volksstimmung, welche Ezr 3, 12 so ergreifend zum Ausdruck kommt. Nach dem Geschichtsschreiber haben die alten Leute den salomonischen Tempel בְּיָסָדוֹ gesehen, nach dem Propheten בְּכְבוֹדוֹ „in seiner Herrlichkeit“, also in seiner herrlichen Ausstattung. Wenn letzteres, dann muß auch beim neuen Tempel die innere Ausstattung in Betracht kommen: „und wie seht ihr ihn jetzt?“ Die alte Herrlichkeit fehlt also dem neuen fertigen Bau. Aber dieser Bau ist fertig; denn nur dann kann der Prophet verheißen, daß Jahwe „dieses Haus“ mit Herrlichkeit er-

¹⁶ BEWER (45¹) sieht darin eine freie Übersetzung.

füllen werde (Agg 2, 7). Das Silber und Gold, welches die Zeugen des früheren Tempels in der Ausstattung des wiederhergestellten Tempels vermissen, kam von Jahwe auch beim alten Tempel; er kann also auch dem neuen Bauwerk einen überreichen Ersatz dafür geben oder „dieses Haus mit Herrlichkeit erfüllen“ (Agg 2, 8f.). Sollten die alten Leute des Propheten Aggäus, welche die herrliche Ausstattung des salomonischen Tempels mit dem Mangel an Silber und Gold im neuen Bau verglichen, andere gewesen sein als die alten Leute von Ezr 3, 12, welche den früheren Tempel בִּיסְרוֹ sahen und, dieses Haus vor ihren Augen, in Tränen ausbrachen? Es sind die gleichen Leute gewesen, und der Tempel בִּיסְרוֹ war der Tempel Salomos in seiner herrlichen Vollendung, ohne daß man das בִּיסְרוֹ in בְּכִיָּרוֹ ändern müßte¹⁷ oder auch nur dürfte.¹⁸ Nur wenn die beiden Stellen durch eine einwandfreie Zeitangabe bestimmt von einander geschieden würden, könnte man daran denken, die gleichen Gedankengänge beim Geschichtschreiber und beim Propheten zeitlich voneinander zu trennen. Weder Agg 2, 3ff. noch Ezr 3, 10^bff. sind zeitlich einwandfrei einzureihen. Agg 2, 3ff. bestätigt also, daß Ezr 3, 12 und damit auch Ezr 3, 10^b—13 die Vollendung des Tempels voraussetzt, daß wir demzufolge in den festlichen Vorgängen ein Tempelweihefest zu sehen haben.

Drei Ergebnisse scheint also eine exegetische Würdigung des massoretischen Textes von Ezr 3 nahezulegen. Der Altarbau ist keinesfalls mit der Zeit des Kyros fest verbunden, auch nicht klar vor den Beginn des Tempelbaues verlegt, nach Anzeichen im Texte wahrscheinlich in Verbindung zu bringen mit der Vorlesung des Gesetzes von Neh 8ff. und ebenso wie das Laubhüttenfest eine der Maßnahmen, welche die Durchführung des Gesetzes, besonders der Opferthora, ermöglichen sollte. Die Aufstellung der Priester und Leviten Ezr 3, 8^b geschah nicht für die Bauaufsicht, sondern für kultische Zwecke nach fertiggestelltem Tempel. Zugleich lag darin eine vorbereitende Einrichtung, um das Tempelweihefest entsprechend begehen zu können. Denn Ezr 3, 10^b—13 ist ein Tempelweihefest und keine Feier der Grundlegung des Tempels.

Wie baut sich auf diesen Voraussetzungen die nachexilische Geschichte auf? Die Art und Weise, wie sich die erwähnten Ergebnisse in der nachexilischen Geschichte unterbringen lassen, kann

¹⁷ So BATTEN u. a.

¹⁸ Denn wie hätte sonst ein rätselhaft scheinendes בִּיסְרוֹ daraus entstehen können!

eine Bestätigung für sie bringen, sie aber auch beeinträchtigen. Allein es kann sich dabei nur um eine solche nachexilische Geschichte handeln, deren Quellen ebenso nachgeprüft werden auf ihre Tragweite, ihren Sinn und Zusammenhang, wie es für Ezr 3 hier versucht worden ist. Daß auch in bezug auf die übrigen Kapitel von Ezr-Neh sich noch mancher neue Gesichtspunkt wird finden lassen, scheint mir sicher, und damit ist auch im allgemeinen die Möglichkeit gegeben, die geschichtlichen Angaben von Ezr 3 nach der vorgelegten Auffassung an der zugehörigen Stelle unterzubringen.

SOME BABYLONIAN CONES¹

By SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Trinity College, Toronto, Canada

(With 2 plates)

1. (1) *dingir*nin-gir-su (2) ur-sag kal-ga (3) *dingir*en-lil-lá-ra (4) gù-de-a (5) pa-te-si (6) ŠIR-BUR-LA^{ki}-ge (7) nig-dú-e PA-mu-na-è (8) é-ninnû *dingir*im-gi(g)^{bu}-bàr-bàr-ra-ni (9) mu-na-dū (10) ki-bi mu-na-gí.

(1) For Ningirsu, (2) the mighty warrior (3) of Enlil, (4) Gudea, (5) patesi (6) of Lagaš, (7) has completed the proper thing, (8) (namely), his é-ninnû, (named) Imgig-bàr-bàr, (9) he has built (10) and restored.

Ningirsu was the city-god of Lagaš, and occurs in the inscriptions of the kings of that city from the time of Urukagina to that of Gudea. He was "the lord of Girsu"—Girsu being the oldest of the four quarters of the city. *Ningirsu* was the son of Enlil and his warrior. His symbol was the lion-headed eagle, *Imgig*, which may be seen on the famous Vase of Entemena. The temple of *Ningirsu*, which dates from the time of Ur-Bau (c. 2700 B.C.), was E-ninnû, originally called Eshgirsu and E-*Ningirsu*, but changed to E-ninnû, "temple of fifty," in honour of Enlil. *Ningirsu* was the especial favourite of Gudea, in whose temple were at least three statues of Gudea.

Enlil and his consort *Ninlil* probably came originally from Ašur to Nippur. At any rate, at an early period he found himself at the head of the pantheon, and remained there until he was displaced by Marduk during the first Babylonian dynasty. He was "king of the gods" and "father of the gods." He was the son of Anu, and his chief son was *Ningirsu*. He was the earth-god, and had his cult at Nippur, where was his greatest temple, E-kur.

¹ This is the first of a series of articles which will appear in this *Journal*, and in which a considerable collection of miscellaneous Babylonian tablets, in the possession of the author, will be published. The inscriptions will be transliterated and translated and autographed. Brief notes especially of a religious nature will be added. When the whole collection will have been published, full indexes will be supplied.

Nippur became a great theological centre, and the great Nippurian cult centred in the three great deities, Enlil, Ninlil, and their son Ninurasha. The legendary nobleman, Laluralim, the Babylonian Job, had his home in Nippur.

Gudea was patesi of Lagaš about 2600 B.C. He was primarily a peace-loving man, devoting himself to classical literature and religion, although he did conquer Anshan in Elam. His most ambitious undertaking was a complete reconstruction (a building) and enlargement of the temple of Ningirsu, E-ninnû. In his famous poem, on Cylinders A (30 columns) and B (24 columns), we have a long religious poem on the origin of the temple plan. Gudea's great ambition was to copy E-kur in Nippur. In preparation for his great work he caused Lagaš to be cleansed, and at the dedication of the great statue of himself (with nine columns of inscription) he caused to be established in Lagaš a state of democracy.

Lagaš, as well as Nippur and Adab, probably belonged to a Semitic Kingdom in the north as early as 3650 B.C. At any rate, Lagaš, marked by the modern mound Telloh, was an important Sumerian city from the time of Ur-Bau (c. 2700) until the time of Hammurabi. Its history goes back to the time of Ur-Nina (c. 3100), and even earlier under the old name Girsu. In time its great rival was Umma, whose king, Lugalzaggisi, conquered Urukagina and destroyed Lagaš. However, Lagaš recovered and again became famous especially under Gudea.

E-ninnû was the name of Ningirsu's temple in Girsu of Lagaš. It was also called the temple of Ninib, as Ningirsu was identified with Ninib. Gudea, in his work on the temple, was assisted by the gods. Nisaba brought the tidings of the proposed building to Gudea; Enki furnished the plan; the plan was drawn by Nindub; Nisaba sketched the foundation; and the gods themselves helped in the building of it (Cyl. A and B). Gudea himself worked like a common labourer, carrying bricks in a basket on his head (cf. the recent report of excavations at Ur in the *Museum Journal*, March, 1925, p. 50, where Ur-Engur is shown going to build his ziggurat with pick-axe, basket, compasses, ladle, and trowel).

Imgig-bâr-bâr was the name of the temple E-ninnû, originally built by Ur-Bau, but greatly developed by Gudea (Ur-Bau, Stat. III, 6; Tonnagel B II, 1; Gud. Cyl. A XVII, 22). The name means "Imgig gleams." Imgig is the lion-headed eagle, symbol of Ningirsu, and

bār-bār has reference to the solar character of Ningirsu, who was identified with Ninib, a solar deity.

2. (1) ^{dingir}nin-giš-zi(d)-da (2) dingir-ra-ni (3) gù-de-a (4) pa-te-si (5) ŠIR-BUR-LA^{ki}-ge (6) ^{dingir}gà-tum-du(g)-ge (7) é-gir-su^{ki}-ka-ni (8) mu-na-dū.

(1) For Ningišzida, (2) his god, (3) Gudea, (4) patesi (5) of Lagaš, (6) (man) of Gatumdug, (7) his temple in Girsu (8) has built.

Ningišzida, "lord of the gracious sceptre," was son of Anu, but also of Ninazu (Gudea St. J. I, 6), was "beloved of the gods," and especially the personal god of Gudea, who built a temple for him in Girsu. He appears often in magical texts, also in the Myth of Adapa under the name, Gišzida. He was considered by Gudea to be his father, and it was he who led the king to victory. He was symbolized under the form of the horned-snake, but as god of disease and death his symbol was the axe. He was likewise honoured with a temple in Nippur.

Gatumdug was daughter of Anu, and founder and mother of Lagaš. Gudea considered himself the child of Gatumdug (St. B II, 16 f.), and the suggested "man," in "man of Gatumdug," based on Brique C 7, may better be "son." Her home was in Uru-azag, but had a temple in Lagaš. As Gatumdug is a local title of the mother-goddess, Bau, her temple may have been the same as that of Bau. She was consort of Ningirsu and patroness of healing and child-birth. Her name means "beneficent bearer of milk."

Girsu was the oldest quarter of Lagaš. It covers the remains of the oldest buildings, inscriptions, and bas-reliefs so far uncovered in Sumer. The god of Girsu was Ningirsu, but there were other cults and temples there. The chief temples were E-ninnū, E-anna, and E-kišibba.

3. (1) ^{dingir}nin-dar-a (2) lugal-en (3) lugal-a-ni (4) gù-de-a (5) pa-te-si (6) ŠIR-BUR-LA^{ki}-ge (7) é-gir-su^{ki}-ka-ni (8) mu-na-dū.

(1) For Nindara, (2) the royal king, (3) his king, (4) Gudea, (5) patesi of Lagaš, (7) his temple in Girsu (8) has built.

Nindara was a war god, whose place seems to have been taken by Ningirsu. His origin is unknown. In Lagaš he became the consort of Išhanna (later Išhara). It seems that a temple was built for him in a place called Ki-AB^{ki} (Urukagina, Tontaf. V, 3 ff.), but this must be some part of Lagaš. At any rate both Ur-Bau (St. V, 2) and Gudea (Backst. A) built a temple for him.

4. (1) ^{dingir}nin-gir-su (2) ur-sag kal-gar (3) ^{dingir}en-lil-lá-ra (4) gù-de-a (5) pa-te-si (6) ŠIR-BUR-LA^{ki}-ge (7) nig-dú-e PA-mu-na-è (8) é-ninnû ^{dingir}im-gi(g) (9) ^{bu}-bàr-bàr-ra-ni (10) mu-na-dū.

(1) For Ningirsu, (2) the mighty warrior (3) of Enlil, (4) Gudea, (5) patesi (6) of Lagaš, (7) has completed the proper thing, (8-9) (namely), his é-ninnû, (named) Imgi-gar-bàr, (10) he has built.

This text is exactly like No. 1, with the omission of the last line. No. 1 is a duplicate of that published in Radau EBH, p. 194 and in ISA, p. 200 F. The last, however, is divided into two columns.

5. (Col. I, 1) ^{dingir}nin-gir-su (2) ur-sag kal-ga (3) ^{dingir}en-lil-lá-ra (4) gù-de-a (5) pa-te-si (6) ŠIR-BUR-LA^{ki}-ge (7) nig-dú-e PA-mu-na-è (8) é-ninnû ^{dingir}im (9) -gi(g)^{bu}-bàr-bàr-ra-ni (Col. II, 1) mu-na-dū (2) ki-bi mu- (3) na-gí.

This text is an exact duplicate of No. 1, except that it has two columns. The columns, however, are divided differently from those in ISA, p. 200 F.

6. (1) nam-maḥ-ni (2) pa-te-si (3) ŠIR-BUR-LA^{ki}.

(1) Nammaḥni, (2) patesi (3) of Lagaš.

Nammaḥni was grandson of Ka-azag the predecessor of Ur-Bau. He married Ningandu, daughter of Ur-Bau, and either succeeded his father-in-law or was one reign removed from him, the intervening patesi being, in that case, Ugar.

7. (1) ^{dingir}nina (2) nin-en (3) nin-in-dub-ba (4) nin-a-ni (5) dun-gi (6) nitah kal-ga (7) lugal uru-ab^{ki}-ma (8-9) lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri-ge (10) é-sis-sis-e-gà-ra (11) é-ki-ág-gà-ni (12) mu-na-dū.

(1) For Ninâ, (2) the royal lady, (3) the lady of ingatherings, (4) his lady, (5) Dungi, (6) the exceeding great, (7) the king of Ur, (8-9) king of Sumer and Akkad, (10) é-sis-sis-e-gà-ra, (11) his beloved temple, (12) he built.

Ninâ ("fish-house") was daughter of Enki and child of Eridu, and therefore a goddess of water and of oracles. She was sister of Ningirsu and of Nidaba and mother of Ninmar. Being identical with Išḫanna (later Išḫara) she was also the goddess of the oath. Ur-Nina was devoted to her, and built a temple for her. Her cult city was Ninâ (Surgul, about 30 miles north-east of Lagaš), a quarter of which, Sirara, contained a temple which was restored by Gudea. Early in the reign of Dungi, he built a temple for Ninâ at Lagaš. This is the temple referred to in this text. She was also worshipped

in Der, but there is no evidence that she had a temple in the city of Ur.

Dungi was son and successor of Ur-Engur, the founder of the Third Dynasty of Ur. Dungi began to reign in 2456 and reigned 47 years. The title "King of Ur, King of Sumer and Akkad" was first adopted by Ur-Engur, and claimed by Dungi up to his forty-second year. As in this inscription, Dungi appears without the prefix *dingir* until about the twelfth year of his reign. In the seventeenth year of his reign, the seventh month in the old Lagaš calendar was renamed in honour of the festival of Dungi. At Umma it was the name of the tenth month that was changed. He was thought to be the son of the earth-goddess Ninsun of Erech. Dungi perhaps should now be read Šulgi.

Ur was the home of Nannar (Sin), the moon-god, and there was the great stage-tower, E-lugal-galgissida, "House of the lord who directs Wisdom," who is Nannar. Ur was called Seš-Unu^{ki}, "City of the habitation of the Brother," a reference to Nannar brother of Nergal, both being sons of Enlil of Nippur. The Third Dynasty of Ur was entirely Sumerian. The cult of Nannar at Ur did not receive adequate recognition in the canonical liturgies of Babylonia, because Ur was allied with Larsa, and Larsa was the enemy of Nippur, where the liturgies were compiled. Ur and Cutha were closely allied, whose deities were the brothers Nannar and Nergal.

8. (1) ^{dingir}sin-ga-ši-id (2) nitah kal-ga (3) lugal unu(g)^{ki}-ga (4) lugal am-na-nu-um (5) ú-a (6) é-an-na (7) é-gal (8) nam-lugal-la-ka-ni (9) mu-dū.

(1) Sin-gašid, (2) the exceeding great, (3) king of Erech, (4) king of Amnanu, (5) who cares for (6) the E-anna, (7) the palace (8) of his kingdom (9) he has built.

Sin-gašid was king of Erech about 2000 B.C., and successor of Anam. He called himself son of Ninsun, thus identifying himself with the line of Gilgameš. He rebuilt E-anna, and was its protector.

Erech was the seat of the second of the semi-mythical dynasties, three of its earliest kings having been Lugal-banda, Tammuz, and Gilgameš. It was the home of the cult of Anu and Innini (Innanna, Nanâ, Ninsun), the virgin-goddess, whose son was Abu or Tammuz. At Erech Gimil-Sin built a temple for Innini, whom he claimed as his wife.

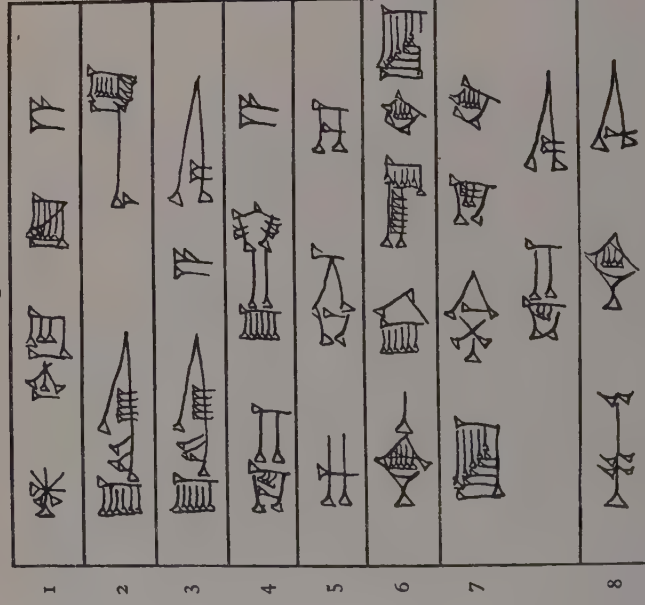
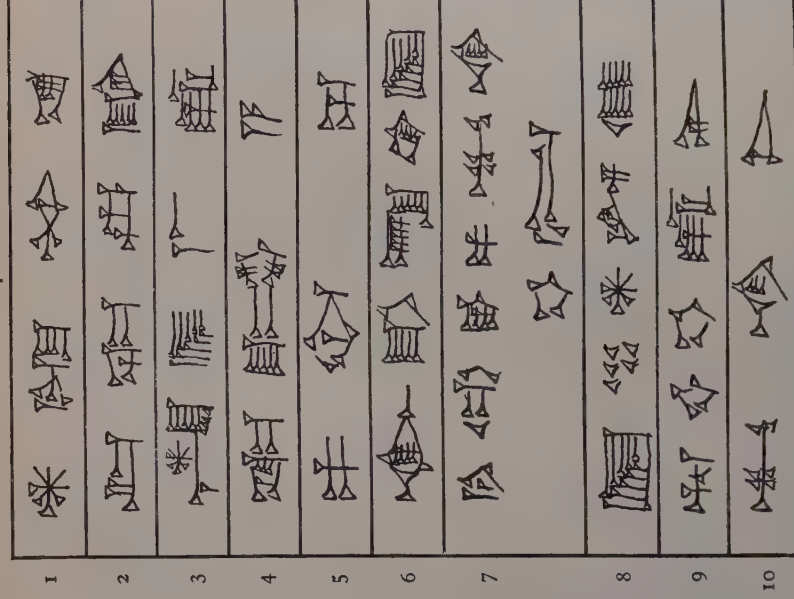
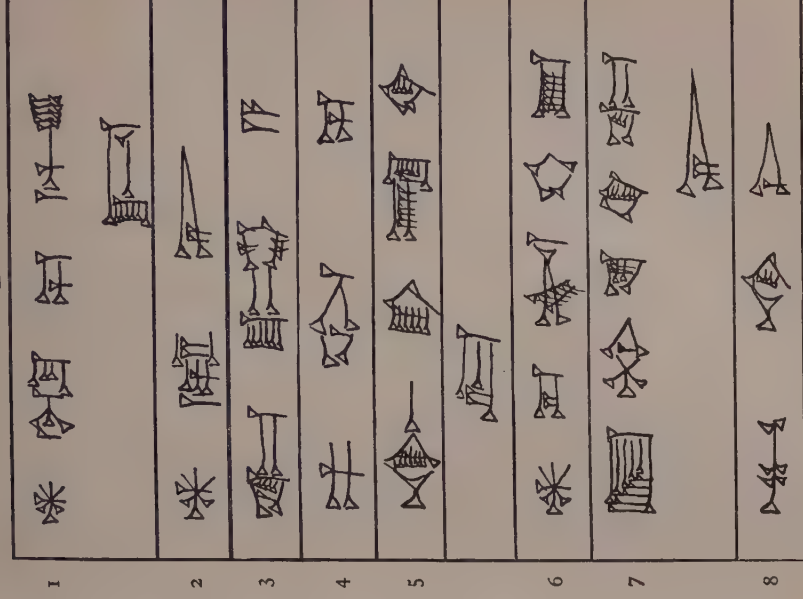
Amnanu was coupled with Babylon in the titles of Babylonian kings, such as Šamaš-šum-ukîn.

E-anna, "house of heaven," was the temple of Anu and Ištar at Erech. It was repaired by Dungi. The name *E-anna* is applied also to the temple of Nanâ at Girsu.

9. (1) ^{dingir} nin-gir-su (2) ur-sag kal-ga (3) ^{dingir} en-li-lá-ra (4) ^{dingir} utu-ḫe-gal (5) lugal unu(g)^{ki}-ga (6) lugal am-na-nu-um (7) é-gal (8) nam-lugal-la-ka-ni (9) mu-dū.

(1) For Ningirsu, (2) the mighty warrior (3) of Enlil, (4) ^{d.} Utu-ḫe-gal, (5) king of Erech, (6) king of Amnanu, (7) the palace (8) of his kingdom (9) he has built.

Utu-ḫegal overthrew the dynasty of Gutium and proclaimed himself King of Erech, founding the Fifth Dynasty of Erech (c. 2524), of which there was but one king. His reign marks a revival of Sumerian power, and it was during this time that the term Sumer became a generic one for the whole of the South, and Enlil became more than a national god. It was in the name of Enlil that Utu-ḫegal defeated Gutium. It is interesting that in this inscription, he builds his palace in honour of Ningirsu, the mighty warrior of Enlil. Quite recently an inscription was found at Ur describing the foundation of the temple by a local governor "for the life of Utu-ḫegal king of Erech" (*Museum Journal*, March, 1925, p. 45).



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ZU INSCRIFTEN TIGLATPILESARS I

Von OTTO SCHROEDER, Berlin

Schon im Hinblick auf die mir s. Zt. angetragene Bearbeitung der Inschriften Tiglatpilesars I. für die „Vorderasiatische Bibliothek“ war ich bemüht, aus den vielen kleinen und kleinsten Tafelbruchstücken zusammenhängende Texte herzustellen. Wie KAH II, Nr. 68 und 71 zeigt, gelang das teilweise, indem größere Bruchstücke zur Grundlage genommen wurden und an sie — etwa so wie es HEINEKES Evangelien-Synopse im Druck vorführt — Zeichen für Zeichen der Bestand paralleler Fragmente über dem Ausgangstext hinzugefügt wurde. So wuchs der Text allmählich sich immer vollständiger aus. Leider war ich nicht mehr in der Lage, außer den im Berliner Museum aufbewahrten Originalen („VAT“) auch noch restlos und systematisch die Assur-Photos durchzuarbeiten. Ich nehme mit Gewißheit an, daß aus diesen noch manches wertvolle Stück herauszuholen gewesen wäre, anderes wohl auch aus den nach Konstantinopel gelangten Textmassen. Ein Beweis dafür war mir eine Abschrift eines größeren Fragmentes durch Dr. MESSERSCHMIDT, die mir erst gegen Ende meiner Akademietätigkeit durch Herrn Geheimrat DELITZSCH zugeleitet wurde. Zur Veröffentlichung im Keilschrifttext selbst eignete sich die mit flüchtiger Hand gefertigte Abschrift nicht, dazu wäre eine Kollation unerläßlich gewesen — und eine solche war schon wegen der Unmöglichkeit festzustellen, ob MESSERSCHMIDT Konstantinopler Texte oder Photos der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft verwertet hatte, ausgeschlossen —; dennoch war mir die Einsicht in diese Abschrift von großem Wert, da sie meine Textkonstruktion im wesentlichen bestätigte, in Einzelheiten auch ergänzte. Insonderheit trifft das für KAH II, Nr. 66 zu. Da die Bearbeitung dieses historisch recht bedeutsamen Textes, die P. DIONYS SCHÖTZ in JSOR IX, 2 vorlegte, einen lückenhaften Text bietet, erscheint es mir erforderlich, den vervollständigten Wortlaut zu veröffentlichen, in dem auch die aus der Abschrift MESSERSCHMIDTS neu sich ergebenden Verbesserungen mitverwertet

sind. Aus praktischen Gründen beginne ich in der Mitte der Zeile 6, wo SCHÖTZ richtig „28-šú“ ergänzt hat, weil der von MESSERSCHMIDT kopierte Text damit die erste Zeile eines neuen Absatzes anfängt.

Umschrift:

§ 1) 28-šú arki ¹Aḫ-la-me-e ¹Ar-ma-a-ia^{meš} nār Pu-rat-ta šanat
^{rkam} 2-šú lu e-te-bir
 iš-tu ^{al}Ta-ad-mar šá² māt A-mur-ri ^{al}A-na-at šá māl Su-ú-ḫi³
 ù a-di ^{al}Ra-pi-ḫi
 ša māt Kar-du-ni-aš tap-da-šú-nu lu aš-kun šal-la-su-nu
 mar-ši-su-nu a-na ali-ia ^dA-šur⁴ ub-la

§ 2) a-na māt Kar-du-ni-aš lu-ú al-lik iš-tu e-bir-ta-an nār Za-ba
 šú-pa-li-e
^{al}Ar-ma-an ugar ^{al}Sa-lum adi Lu-ub-di lu ak-šud nār Ra-da-na
 lu-ú⁵ e-te-bir⁶ alāni^{meš. ni} šá šép ^{šadū}Ka-mul-la ^{šadū}Kaš-til-la⁷
 lu ak-šud
 šal-la-su-nu bu-šá-šú-nu lu ú-še-ša-a a-na ali-ia ^dA-šur lu-ú
 ub-la

§ 3) i-na gir-ri-ia an-ni-im⁸-ma a-na māt Su-ḫi lu-ú al-lik ^{al}Sa-pi-
 ra-ta šá ḫabal nār Pu-rat-te
 a-di ^{al}Ḫi-im-da-ni alāni^{meš. ni} gab-ba šá māt Su-ḫi lu ak-šud
 šal-la-su-nu lu aš-lu-ul
 ilāni^{meš. ni} -šú-nu ma-a⁹-du-ti ù makkûre^{meš}-šú-nu a-na ali-ia
^dA-šur lu ub-la

§ 4) i-na ki-bit ^dNin-urta ram-ia a-na māt Kar-du-ni-aš lu-ú al-lik
^{al}Dûr-^mKu-ri-gal-zu ^{al}Si-par šá ^dŠamaš ^{al}Si-par šá ^dA-nu-ni-te
^{al}Bâbilu ^{al}Ū-pi-e šá šép am-ma-a-te šá nār Diglat ma-ḫa-zi
 rabûti^{meš}
 šá māt Kar-du-ni-aš a-di ḫal-ša-ni-šú-nu lu-ú ak-šud di-ik-ta-
 šú-nu ma-¹-ta
 lu-ú¹⁰ aš-kun¹¹ šal-la-su-nu a-na la mi-i-na¹² lu aš-lu-ul¹³
 ékallâti^{meš} šá ^{al}Bâbili

¹ auch mit Determinativ māt,

² statt šá in anderen Texten überall ša.

³ māt Su-ḫi.

⁴ Aš-šur.

⁵ lu.

⁶ e-bir.

⁷ oder Bi-til-la?

⁸ im kann auch fehlen.

⁹ a fehlt auch.

¹⁰ lu.

¹¹ a-duk.

¹² me-na.

¹³ lul.

šá^{md} Marduk-nâdin-aḫē^{meš} ¹⁴ šár¹⁵ mât Kar-du-ni-aš lu-ú ak-šud
 i-na išâti^{meš} lu-ú aš-ru-up i-na li-me¹⁶ mĀš-šur-šum-ereš
 i-na li-me¹⁶ mNi-nu-a-ia 2-šú si-di-ir-ta šá narkabâte^{meš}
 iš-tu^{md} Marduk-nâdin-aḫē^{meš} šár mât Kar-du-ni-aš aš-kun a-duk

Übersetzung:

§ 1) 28 Mal — i(n eine)m Jahre zweimal — überschritt ich hinter den aramäischen Nomaden des Euftrat; von Tadmar in Amurrû, Anat in Sûḫi bis Rapiḫu in Karduniaš brachte ich ihnen eine Niederlage bei. Das bei ihnen Erbeutete, ihren Herdenbesitz, verbrachte ich nach meiner Stadt Aššûr.

§ 2) Nach Karduniaš zog ich. Von jenseit des unteren Zâb eroberte ich Arman, die Gemarkung von Salum, bis Lubdi. Ich überschritt den Radana. Ortschaften am Fuße der Gebirge Kamulla und Kaš(Bi)tilla eroberte ich; das in ihnen Erbeutete, ihre Habe, nahm ich fort, verbrachte ich nach meiner Stadt Aššûr.

§ 3) Auf dem gleichen Feldzuge zog ich nach Sûḫi. Sapirata im Euftrat bis Ḫimdâni, alle Ortschaften von Sûḫi, eroberte ich. Ich machte bei ihnen Beute; ihre vielen Götter(bilder) und ihr Hab und Gut verbrachte ich nach meiner Stadt Aššûr.

§ 4) Auf Geheiß des Gottes Ninurta, der mich liebt, zog ich nach Karduniaš. Dûr-Kurigalzu, Sippar des Šamaš, Sippar der Anunîtu, Babylon, Upê jenseit des Tigris, die großen Städte von Karduniaš, nebst ihren Festungswerken, eroberte ich, richtete ein großes Blutbad in ihnen an. Ich machte in ihnen Beute ohne Zahl. Die Babylonier Paläste des Marduk-nâdin-aḫê, des Königs von Karduniaš, eroberte ich, verbrannte ich mit Feuer. Im limu des Ašur-šum-ereš, (und) im limu des Ninuaja machte ich zweimal „Schlachtordnung der Wagen“ mit Marduk-nâdin-aḫê, dem König von Karduniaš, ich tötete (ihn)

(Es folgen: Bau- und Jagdberichte usw.).

Die Inschriften Tiglatpilesars I. aus Assur sind sichtlich abgefaßt in einer Zeit höchster politischer Macht: nach der Niederwerfung

¹⁴ a-ḫi.

¹⁵ LUGAL.

¹⁶ mi.

sowohl der Hatti- als auch der Babelmacht. Texte wie KAH II, Nr. 68 und 66 geben daher in großen Zügen — unter Auslassung unwesentlicherer Unternehmungen — das wieder, was nach Ansicht des Hofhistoriographen von entscheidender und einschneidender Bedeutung war. Ob dabei streng die historische Folge der Ereignisse innegehalten worden ist, mag unentschieden bleiben; es ist mindestens wahrscheinlich.

KAH II, Nr. 68 nennt eingangs die drei Züge nach den Nairiländern; auch im großen RM-Prisma werden als Ereignisse der ersten Regierungsjahre Feldzüge nach Nairi erwähnt (s. III, 36 ff. IV, 40 ff.). WINCKLER (Auszug aus der Vorderasiatischen Geschichte, S. 34) setzt die beiden ersten in das 2. und 3. Regierungsjahr, der dritte — wohl der, auf dem die Subnatgrotte besucht wurde — dürfte kaum vor dem 6. Regierungsjahr stattgefunden haben.

Auch der Feldzug nach dem Libanon und nach Phönizien ist im Prisma nicht erwähnt, also später als das 6. Jahr; denn sonst hätte er angesichts der großen politischen Bedeutung sicher erwähnt sein müssen. Auf diesem Zuge, während des Aufenthaltes in Armada, empfing Tiglatpilesar I. Geschenke des Pharao, ein Vorgang von erheblicher Tragweite! Mit Recht hat WINCKLER ihn charakterisiert als Anerkennung der „durch den Sieg über die Hatti erworbenen Ansprüche auf das durch den Vertrag mit Ramses II. seitens Ägyptens den Hatti zugestandene syrische und phönizische Gebiet“ (s. WINCKLER, Auszug, S. 34; Keilinschriftl. Textbuch 3. A., S. XIV f., auch in AO X, 4, S. 11 und in SCHRADER, KAT 3. A., S. 37; ferner: WEIDNER, MVAG '15, 4, S. 83; BREASTED-RANKE, Geschichte Ägyptens, S. 386; JEREMIAS, ATAO³, S. 494 f.).

Zwischenein mußte der Assyrikerkönig jahraus jahrein sich der undankbaren und scheinbar auch unfruchtbaren Aufgabe widmen, die schwer zu fassenden Aramäerhorden der sogenannten *Ahlâmé* durch Strafexpeditionen von allzu frechen Angriffen auf das Kulturland abzuschrecken. In der Regel werden diese Razzias als Beute Teile der Herden in assyrischen Besitz gebracht haben, ohne eine endgültige Befriedung der Nomaden zu erzielen. Wie es aber scheint, glaubte der Historiograph annehmen zu können, daß mit den 28 Zügen der Hauptwiderstand der *Ahlâmé* gebrochen und ein Dauerfriede hergestellt sei. Daß es ein Irrtum war, bezeugen die Inschriften der Späteren (s. in EBERTS „Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte“, Bd. I, S. 77^a 377 f.).

Bevor die Texte von den Aramäerzügen sprechen, behandeln sie kurz die Ereignisse auf dem Rückmarsch von Phönizien; es heißt da:

i-na ta-ia-ar-ti-ia ^{māt}*Ḫa-at-te (rabî-te) a-na si-hir-ti-šā*
lu a-bil..... x biltu^{meš} *ù gušûrē*^{meš} *šā iṣ-e-ri-ni*
i-na eli ^{mī}*lī-^dTe-šup šar mātḪa-at-te (rabî-te) lu-ú*
aš-kun (s. KAH II, Nr. 71, 13 ff.).

„Auf meinem Heimwege unterwarf ich Groß-Ḫatti gänzlich;..... Talente und Zedernbalken legte ich dem Ili-Tešup, dem König von Groß-Ḫatti, als Tribut auf.“

Zu eben diesen Worten läßt sich auch der mittlere Abschnitt jenes Fragmentes ergänzen, das zuerst SCHEIL in RT XXII, dann WINCKLER in Aof III, S. 247 mitteilte, und dem man bisher die Notiz von 12 Aramäerzügen Tiglatpilesars entnahm. Ich bin gewiß, daß eine erneute Kollation des Textes ergeben würde, daß an der offenbar schwer leserlichen Stelle wie in den Assurtexten steht:

nār *Pu-r*] *a-at-ta* [*MU 1^{ka}*]^m *2-šú* [*e-te-bir*].

Damit wäre einer der Beweispunkte für die 12 bis 13 Jahre des Tiglatpilesar beseitigt. Ein zweiter, die Eponymenliste KAV Nr. 21, Kol. III angehender, bleibt wohl besser außer Ansatz. Selbst wenn dort in Zeile 4 der limu des RM-Prismas *Ina-ilia-allak* zu finden wäre — was mehr als fraglich ist —, ist damit wenig gewonnen. Man kann aus den limu-Listen Beispiele beibringen, daß derselbe Würdenträger zweimal limu war, bzw. daß zwei Männer gleichen Namens dieser Ehrung bald nacheinander gewürdigt wurden. Auch aus altassyrischer Zeit kenne ich mehrere Eponymen gleichen Namens. Mit der Zahlenangabe der Königsliste KAV Nr. 9 zu operieren, ist vollends nicht ratsam. In Summa: es spricht nichts dafür, aber vieles dagegen, daß Tiglatpilesar I. nur 12 bis 13 Jahre zukämen. Vgl. MEISSNER in OLZ '23, Sp. 157, SCHNABEL, Berossos, S. 208.

Bis zu einem gewissen Grade kontrovers bleibt; wie mir scheint, die Deutung der Worte: *šanat 1^{ham} 2-šú*. Die gewiß naheliegendste Auffassung ist die, daß der König „pro Jahr zweimal“ einen Zug über den Euphrat antrat, d. h. daß die 28 Züge in 14 Jahre entfallen. An sich möglich wäre jedoch auch die Deutung „28 Mal, in einem (d. h. im ersten?) Jahre zweimal“, was dann im ganzen 27 Jahre ergeben würde. Aber, wie gesagt, auch mir scheint die erste Deutung näher zu liegen.

Beachtenswert ist die stellenweise wörtliche Übereinstimmung des § 4 mit den entsprechenden Passagen der sogenannten „synchronistischen Geschichte“. Sie lehrt — was WINCKLER öfters ausgesprochen hat —, daß die synchronistische Geschichte „eine Art diplomatischen Aktenstücks“ zu einem Grenzstreit zwischen Assyrien und Babylonien ist (s. KB I, S. 195f., Anm. 1). Aus der synchronistischen Geschichte geht unzweideutig hervor, daß der Doppelfeldzug gegen Marduk-nâdin-aḫê und die in unserem Assurtext in §§ 2 und 3 verzeichneten Züge in eine und die gleiche Zeit gehören.

Warum in der synchronistischen Geschichte der assyrische König den Namen Tukulti-apal-ê-kur erhalten hat, ist unerfindlich. Ob dem Schreiber ein Lapsus unterlaufen ist — auf *Tukulti-apil-ê-šar-ra* I. folgte ja *Ninurta-apal-ê-kur* II. — oder er ê-kur als andere Schreibung für ê-šar-ra gebrauchte, muß dahingestellt bleiben.

Eine weitere offene Frage bietet die am Ende von § 4 sich findende Behauptung, daß Marduk-nâdin-aḫê in der zweiten Schlacht im limu des Ninuaja fiel. Vielleicht sogar im Zweikampf mit dem Assyrenkönig. Ist die Nachricht zutreffend und nicht etwa eine irrige Kriegsnachricht, dann muß der in der sogenannten Bavian-Inschrift Sinaheribs erwähnte Raubzug des Marduk-nâdin-aḫê nach Êkallâte vor die im § 4 geschilderten Kämpfe gesetzt werden. Die herrschende Meinung ist freilich die, daß der Erfolg Tiglat-pilesars gegen Babel nur ein vorübergehender war und am Ende Marduk-nâdin-aḫê wieder — eben bei der Êkallâte-Gelegenheit — obsiegte. Vgl. WEIDNER, MVAG '15, 4, S. 12 und 83f.; s. auch MEISSNER in OLZ '23, Sp. 157. Zur Lösung dieser Frage wird man auf neues Material warten müssen.

LA CHRONOLOGIE DE QUELQUES INSCRIPTIONS GRECQUES-CHRÉTIENNES D'ÉGYPTE

Par M. CHAÎNE, Lévignac sur Save, H. Garonne, France

Après les nombreuses et fructueuses découvertes réalisées en Egypte intéressant le domaine de l'épigraphie, le temps est venu où la rédaction d'un Corpus des différentes inscriptions de la Vallée du Nil s'impose de plus en plus dans l'intérêt de l'Egyptologie comme des égyptologues eux-mêmes. Déjà certains essais partiels ont été tentés, et suivant les traces de LETRONNE, qui était resté sans imitateur pendant plus d'un demi siècle, nous avons vu paraître ces dernières années les intéressants travaux de W. E. CRUM, de H. R. HALL, de J. G. MILNE, de G. LEFEBVRE.

Dans tous ces recueils, toutes les ressources que peuvent nous offrir les inscriptions ont été mises en évidence par chacun des auteurs qui les ont décrites et exposées : la géographie, l'histoire, l'archéologie, les institutions sociales, politiques ou religieuses, la linguistique y trouvent une abondante moisson de documents.

Tous ces documents néanmoins ne sauraient avoir toute leur valeur et rendre tous les services que nombre de branches du savoir attendent d'eux, sans que soit établi au préalable, d'une manière aussi exacte que rigoureuse, leur place dans le temps, leur note chronologique.

Ce point n'a pas laissé d'être étudié dans tous les travaux que nous venons de citer. Mais, soit à raison de l'ampleur de la tâche, soit à cause des difficultés que présente parfois l'établissement de certaines concordances de dates, bien des fois la chronologie des inscriptions se trouve inexacte ou erronée. Sans conteste, cette chronologie est à revoir, à contrôler, à corriger en bien des cas. Un travail de ce genre s'impose d'autant que c'est le petit nombre des inscriptions malheureusement qui portent avec elles l'indication d'une date.

Au fur et à mesure que certaines inscriptions ont été utilisées par des travailleurs, on a réalisé parfois des corrections et on en

relève plusieurs éparses çà et là, signalées dans maintes études, dans maints ouvrages. Mais encore, à cause de la nature des travaux qui les contiennent, du peu de place qu'y occupent ces corrections, souvent celles-ci passent inaperçues pour certains auteurs et le résultat qu'on eut dû en attendre ne se trouve que partiellement atteint. Afin d'éviter ces inconvénients, il serait bon, semble-t-il, de traiter à part ce point de l'épigraphie, de signaler dans des notes particulières tout ce qui s'y rapporte, en attendant l'établissement d'un Corpus, auquel ce procédé serait d'un aide des plus profitables.

Pour aider à ce travail, nous proposons ici quelques corrections que nous a fournies l'examen du *Recueil des Inscriptions Grecques-Chrétiennes d'Egypte*. Ce recueil qui contient 808 inscriptions en compte seulement 38 portant une date que nous puissions déterminer en la ramenant à une concordance avec notre ère dionysienne. Ce nombre si restreint nous a donné l'occasion de signaler une dizaine de corrections; nous avons aussi donné une date à certaines d'entre elles pour qui la date n'avait pas été déterminée, et nous avons également profité des concordances contenues dans quelques inscriptions pour noter certaines particularités qu'on rencontre parfois comme celle qui concerne la supputation de l'ère des Sarrazins, ou la notation des mois lunaires.

Inscription 3. « Le 8 du mois de Paopi, indiction VIII, 249 de Dioclétien. » Date : 533 A. D.

La concordance avec l'ère dionysienne demande 532 A. D., 5 Octobre. Selon le calcul normal des indictions cette année comporte indiction XI; l'indiction VIII appartient à l'an 246 E. M. D. Il y a donc lieu de corriger l'année ou l'indiction. Peut être l'auteur a-t-il lu θ pour ς dans la date, ou bien les deux lettres qui servent à noter l'indiction XI : ι et α sont accolées de telle sorte qu'elles ont donné lieu à la lecture d'un η .

Inscription 6. « Le 8 du mois d'Athor, indiction XV, 253 de Dioclétien. » Date : 537 A. D. Lire : 536 A. D., 4 Novembre.

Inscription 8. « Le 4 du mois de Tobi, indiction V, 258 de Dioclétien. » Date : 542 A. D. Lire : 541 A. D., 30 Décembre.

Inscription 11. « Le 10 du mois de Toth, indiction XII, 296 de Dioclétien. » Date : 580 A. D. Lire : 579 A. D., 8 Septembre.

Inscription 12. « Le 9 du mois d'Athor, indiction VIII, 306 de Dioclétien. » Date : 590 A. D. Lire : 589 A. D., 5 Novembre.

Inscription 564. « L'an 873 de Dioclétien, le 1 Tobi. » Date : 1157 A. D. Lire : 1156 A. D., 27 Décembre.

Inscription 643. « Le 22 du mois de Koiak, 528 de Dioclétien. » Date : 812 A. D. Lire : 811 A. D., 19 Décembre.

Inscription 665. « Le 29 Koiak, 723 de Dioclétien. » Date : 1007 A. D. Lire : 1006 A. D., 25 Décembre.

Inscription 636. « Le 4 Pharmouti, 409 de Dioclétien. » Date : 692 A. D. Lire : 693 A. D., 30 Mars.

Inscription 663. « Le 11 de Phamenot, le troisième jour des 7 (jours de la semaine), le 26 du mois lunaire. » Date non déterminée.

L'année qu'il s'agit de connaître ici, doit avoir simultanément et en concordance les trois données suivantes : 11 Phamenot (7 Mars), un mardi, 26 d'un mois musulman.

Pour trouver cette année, il nous faut d'abord déterminer l'épacte et, par son intermédiaire, la date de la première nouvelle lune de l'année, qui nous donnera un vingt sixième jour de la lune le 11 Phamenot. Cette année est celle qui a pour Nombre d'or II, épacte 11, selon le comput égyptien.

Il nous faut ensuite déterminer le jour de la semaine par lequel débute cette année. Ce jour de début est un lundi.

L'épacte et le jour de semaine de début étant connus, reste à trouver les années qui possèdent ces deux caractéristiques aux environs de la période à laquelle on peut estimer que notre inscription appartient. Ce sont les années 401, 496, 743, 838, 1028 de l'ère de Dioclétien correspondant aux années 685, 780, 1027, 1122, 1312 de l'ère dionysienne.

Pour ces années nous avons les concordances suivantes :

401 E. M. D.,	11 Phamenot ;	685 A. D.	7 Mars ;	65 Hégire,	25 Rechab,	Mardi
496 »	II »	780 »	7 »	163 »	25 Gumada II,	»
743 »	II »	1027 »	7 »	418 »	25 Moharem,	»
838 »	II »	1122 »	7 »	515 »	26 Du'l Higga,	»
1028 »	II »	1312 »	7 »	711 »	25 Chewal,	»

C'est la date 1122 A. D., 7 Mars, qui convient à notre inscription. On peut se demander cependant, si l'ère musulmane suivie ici ne débute pas le 15 Juillet auquel cas, les trois premières dates pourraient offrir la concordance que nous cherchons. Mais alors, semble-t-il, à raison de certaines caractéristiques qui lui sont communes avec l'inscription placée sous le numéro 664, c'est plutôt l'an 780 A. D. qui devrait lui être assigné.

Inscription 664. « ἀπο μαρτ(υρων) θ̅ξ̅ σελλ̅ε̅νι ι̅θ̅ χ̅ρ̅ι(α)̅ν. »

La date de cette inscription a été diversement interprétée par divers auteurs. Monseigneur DUCHESNE, dans une de ses études, écrit à son propos. « Le pays où les inscriptions analogues à celle-ci ont été trouvées, c'est-à-dire la Basse Nubie, n'a été évangélisée que sous Justinien, depuis les environs de l'année 548 A. D. Le sigle doit désigner un certain nombre de centaines. Comme il faut arriver à une année 44, on ne peut dater au plus tôt que de 644 A. D. »

L'année exacte n'est pas indiquée, nous allons tenter de le trouver. Le mois de Koiak correspondant à l'un de nos quatre derniers mois, la concordance demande l'addition de 283 avec le chiffre de l'année de Dioclétien. Nous devons avoir le nombre 43 pour représenter les dizaines et les unités de l'an de l'ère dionysienne, le nombre 44 serait une erreur. D'autre part le 19 Koiak indiqué comme date du mois étant un lundi, il nous faut avoir comme jour de début de l'année cherchée un vendredi.

Or, depuis l'an 60 E. M. D., pour toutes les années terminées par le chiffre 60 jusqu'en l'an 760 de la même ère, nous avons les jours de début suivants : 60, mardi ; 160, lundi ; 260, dimanche ; 360, samedi ; 460, vendredi ; 560, jeudi ; 660, mercredi ; 760, mardi c'est l'an 460 qui répond aux conditions exigées par notre inscription ; elle est du 17 décembre, 743 A. D.

Inscription 80. « Il se reposa le 23 du mois de Tobi, le lundi, indiction XV. » Date non déterminée.

Pour avoir un lundi, 23 Tobi, d'une année portant indiction XV, il nous faut trouver une année débutant par un samedi ayant cette indiction. Or nous relevons sept fois la rencontre de ces deux caractéristiques au cours du grand cycle lunaire calculé selon l'ère de Martyrs de Dioclétien. Elle se produit les années : 58, 103, 283, 388, 433, 478, 523 de Dioclétien correspondant aux années 342, 387, 567, 672, 717, 762, 807 de l'ère dionysienne. De ces dates, les trois dernières peuvent seules être retenues, et en rapprochant la présente inscription de celle placée sous le numéro 790 provenant comme elle du Fayoum datée de 703 A. D., il semble qu'on peut lui assigner une des années 717 ou 762 A. D., le 18 janvier.

Inscription 647. « Le 22 Phamenot, 291 des Sarrazins, 629 de Dioclétien. » Suivant le calcul normal, l'an 291 de l'Hégire nous donne les concordances ci-après : 620 E. M. D., 27 Athor — 621 E. M. D., 16 Athor ; 903/904 A. D. L'an 629 de Dioclétien de son côté a

comme concordance : 300 Hégire, 12 Moharem — 301, 22 Moharem ; 912/913 A. D.

Il y a ici une erreur ou bien une computation particulière ; le lapicide s'est trompé ou bien il s'est servi d'une méthode de calcul différente de celle employée habituellement, qui est la nôtre.

Effectivement, c'est le calcul de l'Hégire suivant l'année solaire qui est utilisée ici : l'an 1 de l'Hégire correspond à l'an 338/339 E. M. D. et l'an 629 E. M. D. nous donne alors suivant cette méthode l'an 291 des Sarrazins. La somme des années des Sarrazins ajoutée à 338 nous fournit, en effet, 629. Nous avons maintes fois signalé ailleurs cette méthode de calcul.¹

Inscription 541. «le 5 Pachons, 606 de Dioclétien, 270 des Sarrazins. » Le calcul normal exige d'autres concordances. Il nous donne les années suivantes : 606 E. M. D. = 276 Hégire, 27 Rabi II — 277, 8 Gumada I. 270 Hégire = 599 E. M. D., 17 Epip — 600, 4 Epip ; 883/884 A. D.

La computation de l'Hégire selon l'année solaire nous donnerait 268 Hégire. Il y a donc lieu, à raison du chiffre des dizaines de l'Hégire, de corriger cette date selon le calcul ordinaire ; il faut 277 Hégire, 6 Moharem = 30 Avril, 890 A. D.

Inscription 220. « φαωφ ιζ [ε]ντηκατε τυχ. »

La date de cette inscription n'a pas été déterminée ; les éléments nécessaires pour l'établir d'une manière décisive font défaut, et celle que nous proposons ne saurait être tenue pour certaine. Nous ne la donnons que comme une possibilité qui demanderait à être vérifiée.

Suivant une note de l'auteur du Recueil, le mot *εντηκατε* signifierait, peut-être, *ἐνδεκάτης ἡδικοτιῶνος*. Si cette lecture était admissible, nous nous demanderions, pour notre part, si les trois derniers caractères ne représenteraient pas une date transcrite de droite à gauche comme nous l'avons dans l'inscription 80, où en changeant τ en δ comme dans le mot *εντηκατε* nous aurions la date 624 E. M. D. qui a effectivement indiction XI.

Inscriptions 596 et 597. « Année 512, indiction XII. » « Année 501, indiction VIII. » Date 796 et 785 A. D.

Les dates données dans ces deux inscriptions sont estimées par l'auteur du Recueil comme appartenant à l'ère de Dioclétien. D'après la provenance de ces inscriptions, leur teneur nous paraît s'opposer

¹ Voir notre « Chronologie des temps chrétiens de l'Egypte et de l'Ethiopie » Paris, Geuthner, 1925.

à l'acceptation de cette ère. Elles appartiennent certainement à une époque antérieure à l'invasion arabe et nous opinerions volontiers pour l'ère de l'Incarnation des Egyptiens issue de l'ère chrétienne du Monde du moine Anianos. La notation des indictions suivant les différentes ères nous donne selon le calcul normal : 501 E. M. D. indiction VIII ; 512 E. M. D. indiction IV ; 501 E. E., 225 E. M. D. indiction II ; 512 E. E., 236 E. M. D. indiction XIII.

Aucune de ces deux concordances ne correspond complètement avec les chiffres de nos inscriptions. Toutefois, si l'on admet ici un calcul suivant l'année rurale en avance de quatre mois sur l'indiction légale, nous avons l'indiction XII, et par l'indiction II/I qui correspond à l'indiction VIII, la différence peut s'expliquer, peut être, par une ressemblance des signes η et α dans la graphie du lapicide. Nous aurions alors les années 508/509 A. D. et 519/520 A. D.

En terminant ces notes, nous ajouterons quelques lignes sur un des graffites du couvent de Saint Siméon, donné par GRIFFITH dans sa publication : *The Nubian Texts of the Christian period*. Les éléments de sa date sont les suivants : « 38 des Martyrs, 12 de Pharmouti, 21 de la lune, des Sarrazins.... »

La rencontre du 12 Pharmouti avec le jour 21 d'un mois lunaire ne se produit que les années ayant Nombre d'or VII. L'année dont il s'agit ici, devant avoir 38 pour représenter les dizaines et les unités, il nous faut chercher celles des années terminées par ces chiffres qui comportent Nombre d'or VII. Depuis le cinquième siècle au dixième de l'ère de Dioclétien nous avons les Nombres d'or suivants : 438 I, 538 VI, 638 XI, 738 XVI, 838 II, 938 VII. Au dixième siècle, le couvent de Saint Siméon avait déjà disparu, la dernière date doit être écartée et de celles qui restent, la seconde seule se rapproche du Nombre d'or requis ; ce n'est qu'en 539 que vient Nombre d'or VII.

Les rapports des mois lunaires et solaires de ces deux années, selon le comput égyptien sont les suivants :

mois lunaire	538 E. M. D.	539 E. M. D.
1	2 Phamenot	21 Phamenot
10	11 »	30 »
11	12 »	1 Pharmouti
21	22 »	11 »
30	1 Pharmouti	20 »
1	2 »	21 »
21	22 »	11 »

Les concordances avec le calendrier musulman sont celles ci-après :

206 Hégire	538 E. M. D.	822 A. D.
1 Du'l Kada	2 Pharmouti	28 Mars
4 »	5 »	31 »
5 »	6 »	1 ^{er} Avril
11 »	12 »	7 »
21 »	22 »	17 »

207 Hégire	539 E. M. D.	823 A. D.
1 Du'l Kada	22 Phamenot	18 Mars
10 »	1 Pharmouti	27 »
14 »	5 »	31 »
15 »	6 »	1 ^{er} Avril
21 »	12 »	7 »

Il s'agit ici, très vraisemblablement, de l'an 539 E. M. D. / 207 Hégire, et il nous faut noter encore une fois la confusion des deux chiffres H et B.

REVIEWS

Geschichte des alten Orients. Von E. G. Klauber und C. F. Lehmann-Haupt. Gotha-Stuttgart: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1925, pp. 246.

The third enlarged and improved edition of Lehmann-Haupt's famous book is before us. The first edition was a good book; so was the second edition. This is the best of all. The material at the disposal of a writer of such a history is massive, and although the book is meant primarily for the public at large, it is none the less reliable and authoritative. Professor Lehmann-Haupt and his collaborators have put forth an important book.

After a brief preface, a geographical introduction is written by Dr. Hanslik, who rightly emphasises the geographical factors in the history of the Ancient Orient. A second introduction to the book is written by Dr. Kohn, in which the pre-historic period is discussed. The body of the book is from the pen of Professor Lehmann-Haupt himself, with the former assistance of the late Dr. Klauber of Göttingen. Before a special introduction to the main part of the book, over two pages are devoted to a brief bibliography, which, strange to say, does not include Olmstead's large and fine *History of Assyria* (1923) nor does it have the new *Cambridge Ancient History*. These are two serious omissions.

The first main portion of the book is on Egypt, which was written too soon to take account of Weigall's work on Chronology in his *A History of the Pharaohs*, Vol. I (1925). The history of Egypt is traced down to the beginning of the New Kingdom, when the history of Babylonia is outlined from the beginning down to the Tell el-Amarna period. The Tell el-Amarna and Boghazköi period occupies 30 pages where use has been made of the latest archaeological material. With the history of these different peoples much cultural and religious material is included, and it is interesting to note in passing that Lehmann-Haupt is one of those who are impressed with the importance and uniqueness of Ikhnaton's religion. Section four of the book is devoted to the

Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, where the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah come in for clear treatment. The last section of the book deals with the Persian empire, ending with Alexander the Great. The last few paragraphs are occupied with an account of the decipherment of the hieroglyphics.

The book is rather a brief history of the culture of the Ancient Orient—and it is excellently done. One of the most valuable parts of this book is a large, useful chronological sheet at the end, where at a glance one may see the chronological relationship between the various kingdoms and empires of the Ancient Orient. Here, however, one should be cautioned against Lehmann-Haupt's arrangement of the Hittite Kings, where a revision is due.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

The Struggle of the Nations, Egypt, Syria, and Assyria. By Gaston Maspero. Edited by A. H. Sayce. Translated by M. L. McClure. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; the Macmillan Co., 1925, pp. 795, with map, three coloured plates, and over 400 illustrations.

It seems almost like "bringing coal to Newcastle" (except during the present strike!) to pay tribute to this great work, so well-known, and of such great value to all students of the ancient past. But a reprint of the second edition (issued in 1910) calls for a notice, however brief. This reprint, of course, leaves the text entirely unaltered. It has the same seven great chapters—the First Chaldean Empire and the Hyksos in Egypt, Syria at the Beginning of the Egyptian Conquest, the Eighteenth Theban Dynasty, the Reaction against Egypt, the Close of the Theban Empire, the Rise of the Assyrian Empire, and the Hebrews and Philistines.

Of course, many details could be added which have come to light since 1910, but for a broad, general and dependable treatment of the subject this big book remains a classic.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Report on the Excavation of the "A" Cemetery at Kish, Mesopotamia. By Ernest Mackay. Chicago: Field Museum, 1925, pp. 63, pls. 20.

The excavations herein reported are jointly carried on by the Field Museum of Chicago and Oxford University. This particular

book is volume I, No. 1 of the Anthropology Memoirs of the Field Museum, and it forms Part I of the Report on the Excavations. A preface is written by Professor Langdon of Oxford University in which he states that the Field Museum is to publish all volumes on the more material side of the archaeological discoveries, such as architectural plans and technical discussions thereof. While the decipherment of inscriptions and inscribed tablets and their publication will be undertaken by the department of Assyriology in the University of Oxford.

In the present volume Mr. Mackay deals chiefly with the pottery and implements found at the Sumerian palace. A succeeding volume will contain an account of an extensive collection of pottery, found in the tablet hill by Langdon, and also groups of the same found more recently.

It is not possible to exaggerate the importance of the work which is begun in this volume, for with it and its successors we shall have described for us a perfect example of early Sumerian architectural design on a large scale—a palace from which the oldest and the mightiest dynasties of Sumer ruled from the remotest period of human history to the founding of the empire of Agade in the 28th century B.C.

The material in this volume is confined to the pre-Sargonic period. First, the "A" cemetery at Ingharra, Kish, is described; then the dimensions and shape of the graves are given; this is followed by descriptions and discussions of the nature of burial objects found; and then the pottery, tools and weapons, household and toilet articles, personal ornaments, and cylinder seals are described. The publication is a model one.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Perlen sumerischer Poesie. Von P. Maurus Witzel. Fulda: Verlag des Verfassers, 1925, pp. 170.

This is the fifth volume of Witzel's *Keilinschriftliche Studien*, and contains fourteen of the finest Sumerian hymns and poems in transliteration, translation, and comment. The richness of suggestion and interpretation of these studies cannot easily be indicated in a brief review. The translator is always original and scholarly.

Most of these hymns have been well translated before but in every case Witzel has improved upon his predecessors. As a rule he prints other translations at the foot of the page in order that they may be compared with his own renderings. Very often, as in the case of the "Hymnus auf den Enki-Tempel Esira" he shows how much in error earlier translators were.

In connection with the second hymn, "Ein Dungi-Hymnus," he questions the details of Langdon's theory of deification of Babylonian Kings. The term rendered "divine" may with the same amount of accuracy be rendered "holy," for example, it is more accurate to speak of a "holy" statue than of a "divine statue." The reviewer finds himself in almost perfect accord with Witzel's translations and interpretations and recommends his works to all students of ancient religions.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Recueil des Inscriptions de l'Asie Antérieure des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles. Par Louis Speleers. Bruxelles: Avenue Marie-José, 173, 1925, pp. 135.

One is surprised by the encyclopaedic scholarship of Dr. Speleers. We are accustomed to associate his name with Egyptology, but now we have before us a book containing 329 texts in Sumerian, Babylonian and Assyrian, covering a period from about 3000 B.C. to the time of Alexander the Great. These texts are carefully autographed and where ever possible transliterated and translated. The work has been done most carefully. It is only a pity that the paper used in the book is not better, for in some cases it is difficult to read the signs. Here and there in these texts I have met with slight errors, as for example in No. 85, column 4, line 49, after which a line seems to be omitted. Also *kaš* for *kaš*. But such errors are very few and do not detract in any serious manner from the excellent work which Dr. Speleers has done. None of the texts are of very great importance in themselves. The great value of the work lies not only in the transliterations and translations of these texts, but in the lists of names of persons, deities, kings and places, which the author has compiled. Of course such texts are very valuable for a study of names and dates and herein lies the contribution which the author has made to Cuneiform science.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Ninive und Babylon. Von C. Bezold. Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing, 1926, pp. 179, ill. 160. M. 9.

This is the fourth edition of Bezold's well-known book edited by Dr. Frank, and brought thoroughly up-to-date, and made perhaps the very best popular book in existence on ancient Babylonia and Assyria. It is difficult to select out of the thirteen chapters those which may be considered the best, for they are all so good. The account of the excavations and decipherment of the cuneiform interests me, as do also the chapter on the Amarna period, the one on the Library of Nineveh, the one on Babylonian-Assyrian religion and the one on art. The outline of history is useful as is also the index of places and persons. This book should make a very wide, popular appeal, for it is well-written, copiously illustrated, and artistic in appearance.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache. Von Adolf Erman und Hermann Grapow. Erste Lieferung. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1925, pp. 240 + 16. M. 17.50.

To be perfectly truthful the reviewer must say that he was somewhat disappointed when he received his copy of the great "Wörterbuch." For some reason or other he expected that each word would be more fully documented, and that he would be expected to wade through line after line, stumbling over reference after reference before he came to the meaning of the word under consideration. But the more he contemplates each page as it is, the more thankful he is that the references are collected together by themselves at the end of the book, and referred to in the text of the book by numbers.

I hope it does not appear ungracious to begin this brief review in this way, for no one can be more thankful that this great work is at last being published than I am. Nor is anyone more conscious of the fact that this work could not have been done more perfectly by any living persons than by Erman and Grapow.

It is a day of rejoicing for Egyptology! May the work very soon be completed! We are all impatient till we have it complete in our studies. I have already had occasion continuously every day for the past three months to use this part of the great Wörterbuch, and I find that it lives up to all my expectations. It is

hoped that the publishers will see to it (and I know Herr Hinrichs will!) that the plates are kept indefinitely, for this is a standard work which will last for many decades.

Twenty-eight years ago the Wörterbuch was conceived. During these long years of ups and downs the work has been indefatigably carried on. One million and a half slips were made, and now the genius of the great master is realizing the first fruit of its effort. We are first and foremost indebted to Professor Erman for the great work. His has been the moving and guiding spirit throughout the long years of plan and toil. But ably has he been assisted by Hermann Grapow who for twenty years has stood by the master and given of his wisest and best. They both have been assisted by scholars from many lands. Their contributions must not be forgotten. Nor should the financial backing by German academies and especially by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. be forgotten. Herr Erichsen has done the beautiful autographing and the Messrs. J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung have undertaken the publication. To them all Egyptologists are grateful and thankful.

This the first "Lieferung" extends only as far as 'd', so there is much yet to be done. The arrangement of the work is like that of the small *Glossar*, except that in general the period of the most important words is indicated by such abbreviations as "A.R.", "M.R.", "Totb.", &c. The references, indicated by a number in the text, are collected together at the end of the volume, where they can with ease be utilized.

It goes without saying that every important library and every Egyptologist must own "the great Wörterbuch."

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

De Magische Beteekenis van den Naam inzonderheid in het Oude Egypte. Door H. W. Obbink. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1925, pp. 143. F. 3,25.

This neat and well-balanced discussion of an important religious idea in ancient Egypt is divided into three main parts. After an introduction, the first part deals with the name as a "part" or "limb" of the personality; the second discusses the name as it is used in magical formulae; and the third part—the most important of the three—deals with the name as means of power. One of

the most important points emphasised in all this discussion is that the name was treated as a real objective thing, capable of exerting power. It had its existence, its interests, its influence, its *ka*, its *ba* even as did any individual person. It was for this reason that such an important part was played by the "name" in ancient Egyptian religious thought.

The work is throughout well documented, and the list of literature at the end shows how thoroughly Mr. Obbink has investigated his subject. He has made an important contribution to the literature of ancient Egyptian religion by emphasising one of the most far-reaching ideas in Egyptian religious thought.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Die Blütezeit des Pharaonenreichs. Von G. Steindorff. Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing, 1926, pp. 221. M. 10.

This is a second edition of Steindorff's famous work. It is the same splendid book, with 193 illustrations, brought up-to-date. Chapter one is a masterpiece on the recovery of ancient Egypt, Chapter three describes the Hyksos period with understanding and clearness, chapter eight reaches the period of Egypt's supreme culture under Thutmose III and his successors, chapter twelve deals with the religion of Egypt, thirteen with the art, chapter fourteen with Ikhnaton, and chapter fifteen with Tutankhamen. Just before the Index, the author gives a useful outline of Egyptian history, and then the Index of names and places ends the book. Some of the most beautiful of Egypt's works of art are reproduced in colours—the beautiful Nofretête, wife of Ikhnaton; the caskets of Amenophis III; the reception hall of Tell el-Amarna; the daughters of Ikhnaton; &c. This splendid book!

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Hundert deutsche Fliegerbilder aus Palästina. Ausgewählt und erläutert von Gustav Dalman. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1925. M. 25.

This is an unique book, for it presents a new way of seeing the Holy Land. Herein are reproduced a hundred pictures taken from the air of various places of importance in Palestine.

During the years 1917–1918 German air-men took thousands of pictures in Palestine, of which these one hundred are a selection.

The reproductions are arranged in the following manner: 82 of Judea, 13 of Samaria and Galilee, 11 of the Mediterranean coast, 17 of the Jordan Valley and Dead Sea, and 16 of East Jordan and Syria. Each picture is accompanied by a detailed description and explanation. A transparent glaze net, in squares, is furnished with the book, which enables the student to locate any place on the pictures.

At the end of the book a full index of the air pictures preserved in the Bavarian war archives is given by Dr. Mader, after which comes an informing introduction by Mader, in which the air pictures are fully described. Freiherr von Waldenfels then contributes an account of the Bavarian air service in Palestine in 1917-1918, and Wilhelm Goering writes some directions for use of the large map of Palestine which is at the end of the book. There is then a topographical register with numbers referring to the index of air pictures. The whole volume is original in design and presentation, has been written with great care and learning, and will be found of utmost value to everyone interested in Palestine. It is one of the most useful books ever published on the Holy Land.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental research, Vol. V, edited by Benjamin W. Bacon. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1925, pp. 131.

This volume maintains the high degree of excellency set up by former volumes. The editor contributes an article on *Eagle and Basket on the Antioch Chalice*, most certainly one of the best on that subject. The trend of scholarship is evidently now to admit the authenticity of the chalice, a tendency which must be made stronger by the fact that there is a variant to the story of the finding of the chalice (A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, p. 1192). The reviewer had expressed elsewhere in a popular article his view on the Eagle and the Basket, which disagrees with Bacon, but superficially. (*Living Church*, Feb. 28, 1925, 595-97.) Professor R. P. Dougherty contributes an excellent article on *Cuneiform parallels to Solomon's provisioning system* with a most interesting discussion of the basket motif, and its bearing on the Antioch chalice. Mr. E. E. Voigt writes on the site of Bahurim (2 Sam. Ch. 15-17) which is Ras-et-Tmîn. There is with the article a good map of the region

East of Jerusalem. Mr. W. D. Carroll writes on *Bittîr and its archaeological remains* (Khirbet-el-Yehûd) and F. T. Cooke on *The site of Kirjath-Jearim*. All these articles are well illustrated with photographs and diagrams.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Pirkê Aboth; The Tractate "Fathers," from the Mishnah, commonly called "Sayings of the Fathers." Edited by R. Travers Herford. New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1925, pp. 176.

The famous *Pirkê Aboth* is herein given in original, with translation and commentary, as well as a good introduction. This edition ought to be of great use to students of Mishnaic Hebrew, for a pointed text is given and the notes on the original are quite full. To the student of the Bible and to theological students it ought to prove indispensable, for Mr. Herford has interpreted the text from a thoroughly neutral point of view, and has succeeded in presenting truly the inner meaning of Pharisaism. For this reason New Testament students ought to be grateful, although the book was written primarily for Jewish readers. We need still more Christian students of Judaism of the sympathetic type of Mr. Herford.

The introduction is informing and the notes are full of excellent material. There are some misprints throughout the book, such as "contract" for "contrast," p. 131; "due" for "due to," p. 1; and B.C. for B.C.E., p. 165. May one ask also why the order of the books in the English version is followed on pages 175 f. in a work written for Jewish readers? But these are minor matters in a book so full of excellencies.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Anti-Semitism in the United States. By L. J. Levinger. New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1925, pp. 120.

This is an excellent study of one of the saddest aspects of modern thought. The author is well trained in sociological method and uses his material in a masterful way. He defines the group mind and finds that the problem studied by him is one of group-mind-development and conflict. The author apparently ignores none of the elements of the question. Perhaps he could have investigated the religious aspect of the problem a bit more deeply, and dissociated some of the non-religious elements in a religious group

mind. His work will do something to counterbalance the books written by certain fanatical mountebanks who have done much harm to the cause of world unity.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

The Pagan Bible. By Kenneth S. Guthrie. The Platonist Press, 1177 Warburton Ave. Yonkers, N.Y., 1925, pp. 189.

Doctor Guthrie is perfectly at home in neo-platonism. In this volume he translates what several Greek authors, Proclus, Maximus of Tyre, Plotinus, Dionysius and others, wrote, or were supposed to have written, about the angels. An appendix gives translations of "the Picture" by Cebes, and "the Choicē of Hercules" by Prodicus. We may not agree with a statement such as this "It has been plausibly urged that the Hebrews were compulsorily educated into (Persian) angelology during the later or Persian period of the Babylonian captivity." We may also have wanted a little more criticism of sources and authorship. However, the translator has done a noble work, and his book will arouse interest in a field too neglected by the general public, although the literature on Cebes for instance is quite respectable, if not convincing.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Duties of the Heart. By Bachya ben Joseph ibn Paquda. Translated from Arabic into Hebrew by Jehuda ibn Tibbon. *Introduction and Treatise on the Existence and Unity of God with English Translation* by Moses Hyamson. New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1925, pp. 119. \$2.50.

In this volume, Dr. Hyamson gives us the Hebrew text of Ibn Tibbon's translation of the Introduction and first part of the *Choboth halebaboth*, a most important mediaeval work on ethics. The translation is good and can be of great use to any one whose knowledge of Hebrew is not sufficient to read philosophical texts without help. Ibn Tibbon's Hebrew is not especially easy. We understand that Dr. Hyamson plans a complete translation of Bachya's work. This first instalment shows that he is exceedingly well qualified for this work.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Four Centuries of Modern Iraq. By Stephen H. Longrigg. Oxford University Press, Toronto, pp. 390. \$6.25.

Mr. Longrigg was well qualified to write the history of Iraq from 1500 to 1900. He knows the land and he knows the literature, he is evidently patient and cautious, as any one needs to be in such a field. His work is largely that of a pioneer and he has done it well. What has been said or written about the Turkish rule (or misrule) of that province has not always been accurate. Let us hope that Mr. Longrigg's book will be read enough to correct some sweeping statements. The author has performed the difficult task of making interesting a period and a land with which most readers have very few points of contact. We wish he had told us more about the larger problems of history which often made Iraq even then a pawn between great rival powers. But the author was probably wise in leaving this task to others, and in giving us the kind of work that people fonder of generalities could never have written. Mr. Longrigg appends to his work very full indices, a glossary of Turkish, Arabic, and Persian terms, an excellent bibliography, and an ethnological map.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Abu'l Maḥâsin ibn Taghrî Birdî's Annals entitled An-nujum azzâhira fî Muluk Misu wal-Kâhira. Edited by W. Popper. University of California Press, Berkeley, Calif., 1926, pp. 384. \$3.00.

In this volume Professor Popper continues his monumental edition of Abu'l Mahasin's Nujum. The University of California deserves to be congratulated for the near completion of a work equal to the best done by European Arabists. With the text, the editor gives variants and many parallel passages of the Hawadith. The typographical execution is excellent. Let us hope that, now that the edition of the text is nearly completed, Professor Popper will give us also a translation of these six interesting volumes which must perforce remain closed to the non-Arabist.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Die Ostkanaanäer. Von Theo Bauer. Leipzig: Verlag der Asia Major, 1926, pp. 94.

This is a philological-historical investigation of the immigrant Amorites in Babylonia. The method followed is thoroughly sound.

First, a thorough study is made of the names preserved in cuneiform inscription, and the results tabulated, and then a historical reconstruction is attempted. The author concludes that in the third millennium B.C. there is no sign of an Amorite Kingdom in the west of Babylonia, that the famous (KUR) MAR-TUKI district was a mountainous country north-east of Babylon, that the MAR-TU came originally from that region, but had no ethnic unity, that the East-Canaanite (i.e. West Semitic) proper names of the Hammurabi dynasty are proper names of a new non-Akkadian people, who are not known previous to the Hammurabi dynasty, and finally, that the later principality, Māt-amurri in the Lebanon, are an entirely different people. These conclusions seem to be pretty well substantiated.

The last part of the book gives a clear account of the entrance of the East Canaanites into Babylonia and of the gods of the East Canaanites. One of the most important sections of the book is section four of the philological part which outlines the grammar of the East Canaanitish language on the basis, chiefly of the names.

Of course the book raises many questions which cannot at once be answered, but its findings must be reckoned with in all future work on the problem of the Amurru.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Sprache und Mythos. Von Ernst Cassirer. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1925, pp. 87. RM. 4.

The sixth number of the *Studien der Bibliothek Warburg*, edited by Fritz Saxl, is a study in the problem of divine names. "*Sprache und Mythos*" is a keen analysis of the influence of word formation on the formation of myths, in which a sharp distinction is made between the ideal and the real in mythical meaning, and between the subjective and the objective character of mythical forms. Emphasis upon the objectivity of mythical material has at all times resulted in the postulation of numerous gods—a god for each objective activity and phenomenon. The author makes good use of the primitive idea of the power of a name in his discussion of the part played by the spoken word in the formation of myths, and likewise on that mode of thinking which produced innumerable gods. And just as any human name is endowed with human power, so divine names are endowed with a divine power which

is objective. Finally, a clear presentation is made of the part played by metaphor in increasing the ease with which speech and myth act and react upon one another.

This clear presentation of a difficult subject will be appreciated especially by all those who are interested in the history and philosophy of the idea of God.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

The Universal Faith. Comparative Religion from the Christian Standpoint. By H. H. Gowen. Milwaukee, Morehouse, 1926, pp. 220. \$1.50.

We had been waiting for such a book, quite a long time, a book that would be a synthesis of the new values in religion discovered by History of Religions. We tried to begin such a task in our "Living Religions of the World." Professor Gowen has accomplished it in a masterly fashion. In his book, he shows what we mean by Universal Religion. He then studies "The Christ in Primitive Religion," "The Christ in Judaism." Other chapters are on "Gifts at the Christ Cradle," "The Gifts of the East," "Christ the Answer," "The Christ of History," "The Christ that is to be" and "the triumphant issue." Professor Gowen has a poetical as well as a scholarly mind and gives most appropriate quotations. We disagree only on minor points with the author: "the brute might of Babylon" (p. 8) is too strong. On p. 198 read work instead of the curious homotelouton cark. On p. 98, l. 11 read China instead of India, which is due to a psychological error. We do not see why the work of Perry should be entered into the short bibliography on p. 210. These are insignificant blemishes in an otherwise excellent work. More important would be the criticism that will be made by masters of modern thought among Jews. Professor Gowen does not apparently take into account the great step forward taken by the Synagogue when it spiritualized sacrifice after the destruction of the temple, and the noble step taken by modern rabbis towards the universalization of the Jewish message. Israel has not said its last word. Our gratitude goes to Professor Gowen for this well written book, noble, scholarly, able, inspiring, broad-minded.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Religionsgeschichtliche Bibliographie im Anschluß an das Archiv für Religionswissenschaft. Herausgegeben von Carl Clemen. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1917-1925. Jahrg. I-X. Each M. 1.60, except IX-X which is M. 2.40, pp. 53 + 53 + 40 + 77 + 61. Covering the years 1914-1923.

All students of the History of Religions will be delighted with Dr. Clemen's bibliographies. The Great War caused a good deal of confusion in the matter of the publication of bibliographies. In 1917, however, Dr. Clemen, with Teubner as publisher, began to issue a series of bibliographies covering the literature of the years 1914 onward. He has now published five parts including all religious and historical material that has appeared during the years 1914 to 1923. We wish to congratulate Dr. Clemen on the accurate and complete way in which he has accomplished his task. Of course there are omissions here and there but his bibliographies nevertheless are wonderfully complete. We earnestly desire their continuation and will look forward to them with great anticipation.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Topologische Überlieferungsstoffe im Johannes-Evangelium. Eine Untersuchung von Karl Kundsinn. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1925. M. 4.

The present volume forms the twenty-second in a series of monographs edited by Bultmann and Gunkel of which probably the best known is Bousset's *Kyrios Christos*. Dr. Kundsinn approaches the Johannine Problem from an interesting and somewhat novel angle—he investigates the topographical material found so richly in the Gospel, and his result is to connect the Evangelist with Palestine. So far he is in accord with a recent tendency of Johannine Criticism. He does not, however, like Burney in his "Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel" believe the writer to be an eye-witness of the Lord's life, but a pilgrim of the second century (110-132 A.D.) who visited Palestine and then worked up the legends which he found current at the Sacred Sites already venerated by the Church.

As an example of our writer's method let us take his treatment of the Lazarus story in 11, 1-44. He points out that three sites in the latter part of the account are clearly located—the house

in the village of Bethany, the place of the "Meeting," and the Grave of Lazarus. All else is topographically vague, while these spots stand out clearly. And they are precisely the Sacred Sites mentioned by Eusebius, Jerome and the woman pilgrim Ätheria—sites which probably were venerated as early as the Second Century.

Very stimulating is the treatment of the Jerusalem Sites. The close knowledge of the topography displayed by the Evangelist has often been taken to prove that he knew Jerusalem prior to its destruction by Titus. "Not at all," says Dr. Kundsinn. The Pool of Siloam, the Valley of the Kedron, The Pavement, Golgotha, the Tomb, are all broad features, the sites of which would be known amid the general ruins. When you come to smaller details, such as the description of a room in a house, all is vague. Compare for instance St. Mark's description of the location of the Last Supper with St. John's (Mk. 14, 12; John 13, 1).

Our writer in order to facilitate his argument of course calls attention to the rise of legends about the Patriarchs of Israel around the shrines, and the connection of Dionysus stories with certain localities as the cult spread. He also traces signs of a second century polemic in the Gospel. The story of the water changed to wine at Cana is intended to refute the Ebionitic tendency to use water as one of the Eucharistic elements.

The impression made by this monograph on the reader's mind will probably vary according to the view which on other grounds he has formed of the character of the Gospel. But all of us can be grateful to Dr. Kundsinn for calling attention to certain facts which must be faced in the attempted solution of the New Testament's most baffling problems.

C. V. PILCHER

The Pagan Background of Early Christianity. By W. R. Halliday. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1925, pp. 334. 7/6 net.

Many books have been written on the pagan background of early Christianity, but none with more lucidity than this one by Professor Halliday of Liverpool. Moreover, this book has the merit of being thoroughly up-to-date on this vital subject.

The first chapter is introductory in which the author succeeds in bringing his readers face to face with actual conditions in early Christianity, and emphasise how true it is that the Church Fathers,

upon whom we depend so much for information about the Early Church, were men of their time, with the limitations of their time. He also shows how some popular misconceptions may be cleared up, such, for example, as that Christianity stifled science, or that Christianity was the one healthy influence in a completely evil world, the facts in both cases being quite otherwise. In Chapters two, three, four, five, and six various political and cultural points are discussed, such as administration, municipalities, guilds, communications, society and social ethics, eastern and western elements in Graeco-Roman civilization, and the decline of rationalism.

In his chapter on Union with God and the Immortality of the Soul, the author rightly emphasises the element of other-worldliness which dominated the thought of the Graeco-Roman world, and the fact that the craving for immortality was at the bottom of the religious movement of the Graeco-Roman world. Chapter eight is occupied with a well-balanced presentation of the Mystery Religions, where among other things he shows how true it is that oriental religions concerned themselves with the relation of the individual soul to God, and gave expression to this feeling with an appropriate ritual which appealed to the popular imagination. One Chapter is devoted to Mithraism, which, as the author shows, was seriously at a disadvantage in its exclusion of woman; and the last Chapter outlines the similarity of Christian and Pagan ritual. In this Chapter the author finds the essential difference between Christianity and Paganism to consist in the personality and teaching of the historical Jesus of the first three Gospels.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

La Chronologie des Temps Chrétiens de l'Égypte et de l'Éthiopie.
Par M. Chaîne. Paris: Geuthner, 1925, pp. 344.

Very few can fully appreciate the importance of this work, because it lies in a corner of the field of oriental studies very infrequently traversed even by the professed orientalist. But the work is for that reason all the more important. Fr. Chaîne has tackled the difficult problem of chronology in Christian Egypt and Ethiopia from the beginning of the Christian era down to our own day.

There are three main divisions to the book: First, the history of the calendar and of the calculations of the Copto-Ethiopian Church of Alexandria. This section makes interesting and informing reading, especially those parts which have to do with discussions about the date of Easter. Secondly, an exposition of the calendar and of the calculations of the Copto-Ethiopian Church of Alexandria. Perhaps the most useful part of the section is the table of concordance between the months and days of the Copto-Ethiopian calendar and the Julian-Gregorian calendar. Thirdly, a chronology of the calendar and of the calculations of the Copto-Ethiopian Church of Alexandria. Among other things this section has valuable light to throw upon the time of the Feast of Easter especially since the year 1582. Another valuable table gives a concordance of years according to the Julian, Gregorian, Coptic, Ethiopian, and Mohammedan calendars.

There are nineteen valuable appendices, containing material which is very hard to get at, e.g., appendix six which contains a list of the *Négus* (or kings) who reigned over Ethiopia from the thirteenth century until now; appendix eight has a list of the Patriarchs of Alexandria; and appendix fifteen has a list of the *Abunas* or metropolitans of Ethiopia. These are only a few of the important items to be found in these appendices.

This work is a veritable mine of information, and, moreover, its excellent index of 64 pages makes it possible for the student to find anything he desires on the chronology of Christian Egypt and Ethiopia.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

An Amharic Reader. By Major J. I. Eadie. Cambridge: University Press, 1924, pp. 278.

Ethiopic is the Church language, but Amharic is the spoken language of a large part of Abyssinia. This is a reader for students who desire to become acquainted with the colloquial language of modern Abyssinia. It is designed for those who have studied Amharic Grammar, and will be found of great value. It is the only book of its kind in English and should make a wide appeal among students of Semitic and African languages. But what a pity it is that the book contains no vocabulary. This is a great weakness. How are students to acquire an accurate knowledge of

such a language as Amharic without a word-list? Moreover the orthography of Amharic is so unsettled that a vocabulary with cross-references should certainly have been added.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

The Difnar (Antiphonarium) of the Coptic Church. Edited by De Lacy O'Leary. London: Luzac & Co., 1926, pp. 119. 15/-.

This *Difnar* is for the first four months, and is autographed by Dr. O'Leary from a manuscript in the John Rylands Library and from fragments of a *Difnar* recently discovered at the Der Abu Makar in the Wadi n-Natrun. This is the first time that any large portion of the *Difnar* has ever been printed. Dr. O'Leary should now publish a translation of his fine autograph in order that liturgical scholars and students may benefit to the fullest extent. The work of autographing has been excellently done and apparently with great accuracy. The authorities of Bristol University deserve the warmest thanks for their munificence in making possible O'Leary's fine work.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Psalterii Versio Memphitica e Recognitione Pauli de Lagarde. Par Oswald H. E. Burmester et Eugène Dévaud. Louvain: J. B. Istas, 1925.

All students of the Old Testament and especially of the Coptic Old Testament are eagerly looking forward to the publication of Dr. Dévaud's new edition of de Lagarde's Coptic Psalter. Dr. Dévaud has had an extensive circular printed containing the preface of his proposed edition, in which he discusses his plans for publication. He gives samples of the texts which will be published with critical notes. This will be done with Dr. Dévaud's characteristic carefulness and scholarship. He also notes that his edition of Proverbs is also in press. All students are eagerly awaiting the completion of these two important works.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

A Nation in the Making. By Sir Surendranath Banerjea. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1925, pp. 420. \$6.50 net.

The author of this book is well known to all who have been following political affairs in India. For the past fifty years he has

been one of the leading figures in the agitation for an increased measure of self-government in India. As editor of the "Bengalee," the most popular of Indian daily papers, he has wielded a large influence among English-educated Indians. This book is a record of his life's work. It is really not a history of the making of modern India, in this respect the title is a misnomer, it is really a running account of the political activities of the author.

Surendranath Banerjea has hardly been a powerful figure in Indian development, but he has always been a prominent figure in Indian agitation. As a good journalist, he sensed the growing national consciousness in 1875 and voiced its aspirations by tongue and pen. The cry was then for the opening of more governmental posts to Indians. The writings of English liberals provided a bountiful supply of ammunition which could be used in attacking the bureaucracy, and Banerjea was from the beginning skilled and active in this warfare. There was not a political quarrel between the educated Bengalees and the government in which he was not engaged.

He has had to pay the price of this incessant activity. Superficiality is the bane of politician and of journalist, and Surendranath Banerjea was both. His reminiscences will be of interest to those who knew him, but they have no great historical value. The trouble is that the author was always an agitator rather than a statesman. He is much more interested in the great meetings that were held, in the speeches that he made, and in the celebrities who praised him than in the actual lives of the people. Political activity eclipses all else.

It is strange that a man should be able to write a book with this title,—it is strange that a man should live an active life in politics for fifty years,—and be able to overlook most of the social, economic and religious events of the period. One would never realize from this book that India is to-day wrestling with social problems of the inter-relations of castes and communities; that the modern world-view is profoundly affecting the religious life of the people; that India has been the scene of a socio-religious outburst under Mahatma Gandhi. Indeed, Gandhi's name appears only twice in this lengthy book, both times in casual reference. The non-co-operation movement is mentioned only for the purpose of affirming its foolishness and failure.

D. A. MCGREGOR

China and the West. By W. E. Soothill. Oxford University Press, 1925.

Dr. Soothill's most recent book is in the form of six rather popular lectures and traverse in the most lucid and interesting manner that large field of human intercourse which has been seldom exploited outside the writings of men like Cordier and Hirth.

The book has all the advantages and some of the defects of the lecture form. To allude to the latter first, there is, deliberately, little reference to authorities for the quotations and statements introduced. Moreover, the single details of the far-flung picture have not always been verified. As examples of inaccuracy, we may mention that (p. 67) the responsibility for the restriction of English trade to Hirado is placed upon the Shogun instead of upon the English captain, Sir John Saris. The Korean war, inaugurated by Hideyoshi, is stated (p. 76) to have continued till 1607, whereas Hideyoshi ordered the withdrawal of the invading troops from his death-bed in 1598. In stating that Java was Dutch continuously from 1619 the author omitted to say that it was British from 1811 till 1818. Tsing-tao is called an island (p. 168) and Kiao-chow a port. The Rev. S. W. Brooks (p. 182) is called a missionary of C.M.S., whereas it should be S.P.G. The statement (p. 186) that "tens of thousands of (Chinese) students flocked to Japan to receive there a veneer of education, a diploma, lowered morals, anti-foreign speeches and revolutionary notions" is unusually reckless for Dr. Soothill. Of misprints the only one noted is that of "Hung Hsin-chuan" for "Hung Hsiu-chuan."

Turning from such "flies in the amber" to the real substance of the book, it is a pleasure to recognize the splendid sweep of Dr. Soothill's treatment of so large and important a canvas. It is only by following up the significance of the material presented in the successive chapters that one learns to correct one part of a hackneyed Kipling stanza by the important concluding lines:

"But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed,
nor Birth,

When two strong men meet face to face, though they come
from the ends of the earth."

We have in "China and the West" not merely the meeting face to face of strong men, but that of those strong currents of

history through which our present civilization has become neither Oriental nor Occidental but the common product of both East and West.

HERBERT H. GOWEN

Scenes and Characters from Indian History. By C. H. Payne. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1925, pp. 251. \$2.00.

A series of ten descriptions of scenes in Indian life taken from authors not usually available to the ordinary reader. To these, Mr. Payne has added valuable notes. The aim of the book is not primarily to provide accurate historical data, but by quoting the historical writings of the past, to enable us to appreciate the social atmosphere of that day.

The description of Vijayanagar in the 15th century by Abdur Razzaq, a Persian visitor to that city in 1443 is illuminating. Perhaps the most valuable chapters are those by Du Jarric on "The Portrait of Akbar" and "The Rebellion of Khusru." Du Jarric wrote in 1610, his "Histoire" being a compilation based on letters received in Portugal from the Jesuits in India. None of his work has yet been published in English. The description of Vasco da Gama's visit to Calicut in 1498 is taken from the "Roteiro" whose author was a companion of the great discoverer.

The material is interesting as source material but too incomplete to be of much value to the scholar. To attempt to give descriptions of conditions of life dating from Alexander to Aurangzeb is bound to remind one of the old lady who said of the dictionary "I read it all through, but couldn't see the connection."

D. A. MCGREGOR

Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1925.

Attention is hereby called to a series of contributions to this valuable "Reallexikon" by Dr. Eckhard Unger on various ancient Oriental topics. Dr. Unger's scholarship is well known and whatever he writes comes with authority. There lie before me at present excellent articles on "Baukunst (Vorderasien)" with splendid illustrations, "Gewicht (Mesopotamien)" with three illustrations, "Keilschrift," and "Keilschriftgriffel." The article on "Keilschrift" is

particularly well-done. At a glance one can follow the development of the cuneiform script (in the case of *lugal-šarru*, "King," and *sar-kiri*, "plant") from the earliest to the latest times. The article is a splendid piece of graphic condensation.

S. A. B. M.

Chaldäer, Chaldi, Chalyber, Indogermanen in Vorderasien, Isin.
Von Otto Schroeder, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*.

Dr. Schroeder is continuing his scholarly contributions to the *Reallexikon*. His knowledge of original texts bearing upon the ancient history of Asia Minor make these contributions of utmost important even to the specialist.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Kilikien, Kleinasien, Komana. Von O. Schroeder, 1926.

These are three articles in the *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* from the reliable and scholarly pen of Dr. Schroeder. Semitic scholars will be glad to have these reliable notes.

S. A. B. M.

Clavis Cuneorum sive Lexicon Signorum Assyriorum. Compositum a G. Howardy. Pars II, Ideogrammata Rariora, 4. Lieferung. London: Humphrey Milford, 1925, pp. 289-385. 5 shillings.

This is the fourth part of this valuable and indispensable "Key" to the cuneiform, and contains a series of rare ideograms with their phonetic value, their meaning in Latin, English, and German, and references to their usage. The references are in all cases thoroughly up-to-date. It is hoped that the series will soon be completed, and that supplements will be published according as material accumulates.



S. A. B. M.

Orientalia. Editi a Pontificio Istituto Biblico. Roma, 1925.

Numbers 18 and 19 of this important publication are now before us. The former contains a continuation of Schneider's work on "Das Drehem- und Djoḥa-Archiv," with an appendix of seventeen new texts from Drehem and Djoḥa. The latter contains Carteggio in editio di I. Rosellini e L. M. Ungarelli epitomato ed illustrato da Giuseppe Gabrieli con i ritratti dei due Egittologi.

S. A. B. M.

Der Osirisname "Roi." Von Levi Chisda-Goldberg. Leningrad, 1925. Agents, Luzac & Co., London, pp. 23.

The author seeks to show in this little pamphlet that in Genesis 16 : 13-14, the word  is an Osiris name, equivalent to the Egyptian , the Semitic meaning of which is "The Seer." This meaning is illustrated by the title of Osiris, "The many Eyed," preserved by Diodorus. The author brings this name into relationship with "Ra," and sees a reason for the tendency to identify Osiris with the god Ra.

S. A. B. M.

Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte. Von Walter Wreszinski. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. Teil II, Lieferung 7, pls. 57, 65, 72, 76, 78, 132, 142, 145, 156, 159, 160.

This is a continuation of Wreszinski's great *Atlas*. Its completion is eagerly awaited. The same accuracy and skill mark this part, which were found in the preceding parts. With these excellent reproductions and comments, the student can sit in his library and study the bas-reliefs of ancient Egypt with as much profit and much more ease than if he were in Egypt.

S. A. B. M.

Palestine Antyiqui of Museum, Guide to the Exhibition of Moslem Heraldry in Palestine, Jerusalem Department of Antiquities. 1926, pp. 8.

This leaflet written by Dr. L. A. Mayer gives a description of a special exhibit in the Museum at Jerusalem. Most of the objects shown come from the Mamluk period before 1517. Dr. Mayer is preparing a larger monograph on this interesting subject.

J. A. M.

Die Psalmen. Übersetzt und erklärt von Hermann Gunkel. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1925. Lieferung 2, pp. 97-192, M. 3; 3, pp. 193-288, M. 3; 4, pp. 289-384, M. 3; 5, pp. 385-480, M. 3.

These four parts of the fourth edition of Gunkel's great commentary on the Psalms in the *Göttinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament* cover psalms 22-109. Those who are acquainted with

the former editions of this work know what to expect here, namely, accuracy, detail, brilliancy of translation and interpretation, and ever new and fresh comment and light. Psalm 100 is a good example of Gunkel's fine work.

S. A. B. M.

The Decad of the Dead. By A. H. Godbey.

This is an enlarged reprint from the *Methodist Quarterly Review* for April, 1925, in which Dr. Godbey discusses with much scholarship the subject of *tithing* in the Bible. Among other interesting things he shows how little tithing has to do with a "tenth" and how clear it is that the Old Testament "tithing" involved no arithmetical proportion but had to do with the levying or taking up of a collection.

S. A. B. M.

The Men of the Great Synagogue. By Henry Englander, 1925.

This is an article which appeared in the *Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume*, and in which Dr. Englander successfully defends the historicity of the reports about the אנשי כנסת הגדולה.

S. A. B. M.

Solomon Ibn Gabirol's Choice of Pearls. Translated from the Hebrew, with Introduction and Annotations by A. Cohen. New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1925, pp. 132. \$1.00.

This, the fourth volume in the *Library of Jewish Classics* series, is a collection of 652 ethical maxims, classified under 64 subjects, drawn by Ibn Gabirol from various sources, principally Greek and Arabic, and here rendered into graceful English. The maxims are full of sound wisdom and advice.

S. A. B. M.

Introduction to the Talmud. By M. Mielziner. Third edition. By J. Bloch and L. Finkelstein. New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1925, pp. 409. \$3.00.

Mielziner's Introduction to the Talmud is indispensable to all students of Judaism because of the scholarship of the author and his surety of judgment. This edition differs from the two former ones in that it has 38 pages of additional notes mostly biographical and an index, fifty-four pages long, which makes reference work exceedingly easy.

J. A. M.

Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte. Herausgegeben von Alfred Bertholet und Eduard Lehmann. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1925, Lieferung 11-12 (Schluß des II. Bandes), Bogen 32-46 und Titelbogen. RM. 6.

Here endeth volume II of the fourth and fully new edition of the famous "*Chantepie de la Saussaye*." The earlier parts of this important edition have been reviewed in this *Journal*. It remains only to say that the work is now complete, with a magnificent index of 96 pages, each page bearing three columns. This last section of the great work continues a discussion of Roman religion and a full discussion of the religions of the Slavs, the Germans, and the Celts. This new and up-to-date History of Religions again takes its place as an international standard text-book which should find a place on the shelves of every library of any importance as well as in the study of every student of religions. S. A. B. M.

The Subject Index to Periodicals. Issued by the Library Association. I. Language and Literature, Part 1. Classical, Primitive and Oriental. London: The Library Association, Dec. 1925. 2s. 6d. net.

This part comprises 520 entries from 123 periodicals representing the year 1922. For librarians and students of the language and literature of antiquity this "Index" is indispensable.

S. A. B. M.

Epistula Apostolorum. Herausgegeben von Hugo Duensing. Bonn: Marcus und Weber, 1925, pp. 42. RM. 2.

This is a handy edition of the *Epistula Apostolorum* in the *Kleine Texte* series, edited by Lietzmann, based on the Ethiopic and Coptic texts. The Coptic text used is that of Cairo of the fourth or fifth century, made directly from the Greek original, but the Ethiopic text is a late one, of the eighteenth century, although its value lies in the fact that it has preserved the text in many places where the Coptic is fragmentary. The translations are supplied with numerous valuable notes.

S. A. B. M.

Ausgewählte hethitische Texte historischen und juristischen Inhalts. Transkribiert von A. Götze. Bonn: Marcus und Weber, 1926, pp. 26. RM. 1.80.

Number 153 of the *Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen*, edited by Lietzmann, contains a series of texts to serve as a "Reader" for students of "Hittitology." The texts are given in transliteration, so that a student unacquainted with the cuneiform script is able to use them. The translation of these texts are to be found in the *Alten Orient*, Bd. 24, Heft. 3. It is a pity space could not have been found for them here, for the sake of convenience. But the two little books will be a boon to any student ambitious to master the Hittite language.

S. A. B. M.

Une Statuette Hittite de Cracovie. Par Stephan Przeworski. Leopoli: Pol. Soc. Philologae, 1926, pp. 1-8.

This is a study of a small bronze human figure which is in the archaeological cabinet of the University of Cracow in Poland. Dr. Przeworski's description of this precious little figure will be much appreciated by students of Oriental, and especially Hittite art. The statue belongs to the ninth century B.C.

S. A. B. M.

Aus dem hethitischen Schrifttum. Von Johannes Friedrich. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1925, pp. 32. RM. 1.20.

This is the second part of this work, forming Bd. 25, Heft 2, of *Der alte Orient*, and contains religious texts. The texts are given in translation with excellent notes. These texts are very valuable for a study of royal offerings among the Hittites, as well as for a knowledge of Hittite religion in general.

S. A. B. M.

Psalterii Versio Memphitica e Recognitione Pauli de Lagarde. Réédition avec le texte copte en caractères coptes par O. H. E. Burmester et Eugène Dévand. Louvain: J. B. Istas, 1925, pp. 180.

At an earlier point in this number a description was given of the plan of this work. Now, at last, it has appeared, and it must be said that it satisfies all expectations. The 151 psalms are printed in a clear type, making the pages a pleasure to look at. I have read several of the psalms here and there and have found the text accurately printed. The critical foot-notes are copious and most helpful. In future study of the Psalter this important work must not be overlooked.

S. A. B. M.

F. C. Conybeare 1856-1924. By Albert C. Clark and J. Rendel Harris. London: Humphrey Milford for the British Academy, pp. 10. 1 shilling net.

Albert C. Clark and Rendel Harris have written a penetrating little memoir of the famous F. C. Conybeare, the keen critic of Christian sources. In spite of his skeptic and enquiring nature, it is interesting to note that Clark refers to Conybeare's belief in the legend that Russian troops had passed through England in August of 1914. It is quite evident from this and much else, that Conybeare was less original than he was contrary by nature and inclined to defend lost causes and to uphold the opposition.

S. A. B. M.

Sound and Symbol in Chinese. By Bernhard Karlgren. Toronto: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1923, pp. 112. 75 Cents.

This volume was published in Swedish in 1918. If anyone desire a general knowledge of the history and philosophy of the Chinese language, without wading through interminable technical discussions, but with pleasure and profit, he can find it in this book. Professor Karlgren certainly has the ability to make what is ordinarily considered a forbidding subject interesting and charming. The reviewer found the book so fascinating that he read it at two sittings; and moreover, he intends to keep it by him for continual reference.

S. A. B. M.

NECROLOGY

Wolf Wilhelm Graf von Baudissin †

Von OTTO SCHROEDER, Berlin

Am 6. Februar 1926 entschlief zu Berlin unerwartet im 79. Lebensjahre der Senior der Berliner Theologischen Fakultät, der Professor der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft Dr. Wolf Wilhelm Friedrich Graf von Baudissin. Er war am 26. September 1847 zu Sophienhof in Holstein geboren, als Sproß eines der ältesten und vornehmsten deutschen Adelsgeschlechter. Von 1866 bis 1872 studierte er in Erlangen, Berlin, Leipzig und Kiel Theologie und orientalische Sprachen. Besondere Bedeutung gewannen für ihn die Leipziger Studienjahre, in denen er den Alttestamentler Franz Delitzsch und den Arabisten Fleischer zu seinen Lehrern zählte. Nachdem er den philosophischen Doktorgrad und — gleichzeitig mit Adolf Harnack — den eines Lizentiaten der Theologie erworben, begann er 1874 seine akademische Laufbahn als Privatdozent der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft in Leipzig. 1876 wurde er als Extraordinarius nach Straßburg berufen, wo er 1880 zum Ordinarius aufrückte. Die Universität Gießen verlieh ihm den Theologischen Doktor h. c. Schon 1881 ging er nach Marburg, woselbst er 1893 das Rektorat innehatte. 1894, nach dem Tode Dillmanns, erging an ihn der Ruf nach Berlin; er lehnte jedoch ab. Als aber nach dem Ableben Baethgens 1900 dringender die Berufung nach Berlin sich erneuerte, leistete er ihr Folge. 1913 war er Rektor der Universität Berlin. 1920 wurde er infolge des Gesetzes über die Altersgrenze emeritiert, war jedoch bis an sein Lebensende unermüdlich lehrend und forschend tätig.

Baudissin wird weiteren Kreisen zunächst bekannt sein als Verfasser einer „Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments“ (1901), die — wie schon die Fassung des Titels andeutet — vom üblichen Einleitungstyp abweicht. Den unbestrittenen Vorzug des Werkes bilden die wundervoll feinsinnigen Würdigungen der einzelnen Schriften; es ist ein Buch zum Anregen und Lustmachen

zu weiterem Studium, von dem Cornill mit Recht sagt, daß an ihm „auch derjenige seine Freude haben muß, der des Verfassers wissenschaftlichen Standpunkt nicht zu teilen vermag“. Gemeint ist die vorsichtige Stellungnahme Baudissins gegenüber Wellhausen. Mit ihm hat natürlich auch Baudissin sich gründlich auseinanderzusetzen müssen; als die Frucht dieser Studien darf letzten Endes wohl die 1889 erschienene „Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priestertums“ angesprochen werden.

Das Widmungsblatt der Baudissin zum 70. Geburtstag dargebrachten Festschrift begrüßte den Jubilar als „den feinsinnigen und gelehrten Erforscher der alttestamentlichen Religion und ihrer geschichtlichen Zusammenhänge mit den Religionen und Kulturen des Morgenlandes“. Von der hervorragenden Bedeutung der religionsgeschichtlichen Arbeit Baudissins geben bereits die beiden Hefte „Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte“ (1876–1878) Zeugnis; die hier zusammengestellten sieben Abhandlungen haben der Wissenschaft neue Wege gewiesen, besonders gilt das von den Aufsätzen des zweiten Heftes: „Der Begriff der Heiligkeit im Alten Testament“ und „Heilige Gewässer, Bäume und Höhen bei den Semiten, insbesondere bei den Hebräern“. Tiefgründige Kenntnis der aramäischen, phönikischen und punischen Schriftendenkmäler und eine einzigartige Beherrschung zumal des in ihnen vorhandenen religionsgeschichtlichen Materials eigneten ihm wie wohl nur sehr wenigen. Daher bieten auch die gegen 50 meist religionsgeschichtliche Themen behandelnden Beiträge zur 2. und 3. Auflage von Herzog-Haucks „Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche“ sowie mancherlei Einzelstudien in Zeitschriften und Festgaben Muster gediegener Arbeit. Sein letzterschienenes großes Werk „Adonis und Esmun“ (1911) wollte die Geschichte des Glaubens an Auferstehungs- und Heilgötter untersuchen.

Ein vollständiges Verzeichnis der Schriften Baudissins verdanken wir Otto Eissfeldt (s. die oben erwähnte Festschrift). Daß B. eine sehr fruchtbringende Tätigkeit als Rezensent entfaltet hat, sei wenigstens erwähnt. Wie Professor Sellin in seiner Gedenkrede vom 17. Februar 1926 mitteilte, hat der Verewigte ein großes Werk „Über den Gottesgedanken im Alten Testament“ in druckreifem Manuskript hinterlassen; es wäre Ehrenpflicht dafür Sorge zu tragen, daß es so bald als möglich veröffentlicht würde.

Baudissin war kein Redner, und Anfänger mögen vielleicht seinem akademischen Unterricht nicht immer Geschmack haben abgewinnen können. Wer jedoch mit ein wenig Liebe zur Sache in seine Vorlesungen oder gar sein „Alttestamentliches Seminar“ kam, der fand reichste Anregung und Förderung. Unüberbietbar war Baudissins Sorgfalt in allen, auch den scheinbar nebensächlichen Fragen, rührend sein stets liebenswürdiges Eingehen auf jede einer Erwägung werthe Ansicht anderer, sein Bestreben jedem gerecht zu werden. So ist es kaum möglich zu entscheiden, ob man mehr den Gelehrten und Forscher achtete oder den aus der Tiefe der Seele vornehmen Menschen liebte.

Sellin berichtete, wie Baudissin dahinging: Kurz nach einer mit seiner Schwester geführten Unterhaltung über das Jesajawort von den Friedensboten (Jes. 52, 7) kam unerwartet zu ihm der Bote, der ihn in den Frieden der ewigen Heimat holte. Nach einem segensreichen Leben ein wahrhaft gesegneter Abschluß, wie er nur wenigen geschenkt wird.

Sein Andenken wird in Ehren bleiben.
